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URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON

OLDEN TIMES

IN A

HIGHLAND PARISH

BY

WILLIAM MACKAY, LL.D.

SECOND EDITION

"Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations."
Deut. xxxii. 7

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WILLIAM MACKAY, LL.D.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE following pages are the result of much gathering, begun during my school and college days, of the traditions and legends and songs of my native Parish, and of much searching, in more recent years, for written records referring to it. I have endeavoured to give in them a plain and accurate account of the Olden Times, and a true picture of the Past. The work is, however, that of a novice in book-writing, who has written it, for his own diversion and recreation, during hours of freedom from the labours and anxieties of a busy professional life; and, while no effort has been spared to ensure accuracy of statement, the book is probably not without blemishes of a literary nature which it might have escaped in other hands, and under more favourable circumstances.

I have received generous help in connection with the work. My parents, whose wonderful store of legend and song first suggested it, and the old people, all over the Parish, whose tales at many a *céilidh* are still a pleasing recollection, are now

beyond the reach of this expression of my gratitude; and so is The Chisholm, who placed his family papers at my disposal. Others who helped are, happily, still with us. To Caroline, Countess Dowager of Seafield, I am specially indebted,—for free access to the numerous and invaluable ancient papers preserved at Castle Grant. My thanks are also due to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond, for the use of interesting documents in his possession; to Dr Dickson, Curator of the Historical Department, Register House, Edinburgh; Mr Clark, of the Advocates' Library; Mr Law, of the Signet Library; the Rev. Walter Macleod, Edinburgh; Mr Francis James Grant, W.S., Edinburgh (a worthy descendant of the learned James Grant of Corrimony); the Clerks of the Synod of Moray and of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Abertarff; and the officials of the Record Office, London,—for much courtesy and aid in the course of my researches; to Provost Ross, Inverness, for the very successful "restoration" of the Castle, which forms the frontispiece, and for the architectural description and ground plan of the Castle: to Mr Mackintosh, artist, Inverness, for the sketches of the Bridge of the Leap and Mac Uian's Pool; to Mr Grant of Glenmoriston, for the loan of the Killicrankie Shield, of which an illustration is given, and for the portrait of

Patrick Grant, the protector of Prince Charles; to Mrs Grant, senior, of Glenmoriston, for the drawings of Iain a' Chragain's Sword and the Glenmoriston Pillory; to Miss Cameron, late of Lakefield, for the drawing of the Urquhart Brooch; to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for the illustrations of the Balnalick Urn and Bronze Blade, and of the Balmacaan Sculptured Stones; to Mr J. R. N. Macphail, M.A., advocate, Edinburgh, who has, at great trouble, revised almost all the proof-sheets; to Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., Inverness, who, in connection with the appendix on Place-Names, has freely given me out of the abundance of his Celtic learning; to my father-in-law, Mr John Mackay, Hereford, author of "Sutherland Place-Names," for valuable suggestions on the same subject; and to my Wife, who has relieved me of much of the labour connected with the transcription of old writings.

It has been the will of Fate that the story of the Parish should be told by the last man who has a home or a holding in it of a family who, for centuries, acted some little part in that story. I hope I am doing the old place a service and not a wrong by publishing it. I trust, also, that no one will find cause of offence in anything I have recorded concerning his or her forefathers. It is the duty of the historian, however humble he or his subject may

be, to tell his tale truthfully and without favour; and I have, in endeavouring to act up to that duty, experienced the pain of having to record unpleasant things, not only about my own forbears, but also regarding ancestors and relatives of some of my best friends on earth. The only comforting reflection is that the men of the Past ought not to be judged by the moral standard of the Present.

WILLIAM MACKAY.

Craigmonie, Inverness,
Christmas, 1893.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

The first edition having for some time been out of print, the Publishers find themselves encouraged to issue a second. A few necessary corrections have been made, and here and there new information has been given. Mr W. J. Watson, LL.D., author of "Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty," has read the proofs of the Appendix on Place-Names, and I am indebted to him for valuable suggestions on difficult and doubtful points.

WILLIAM MACKAY.

Craigmonie, Inverness,
March, 1914.

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URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON

CHAPTER I

BEFORE 1296

The Early Ages.—Physical and Climatic Changes.—Early Man.—The Caledonii.—The Picts.—Urchard in Moravia.—The Legendary Origin of Loch Ness.—The Children of Uisneach.—The Wars of the Picts.—The End of their Kingdom.—Incursions of the Norse.—Monie, Son of the King of Scandinavia.—The Conflict of Craigmonie.—The Risings of the Moraymen.—Conachar in Urquhart.—The Big Dog and the Wild Boar.—Origin of the Forbeses, Mackays, and Urquharts.—The Harrying of the Church Lands.—The Pope's Protection to the Church of Urquhart.—Gillespic Mac Scolane's Deeds and Death.—Urquhart Granted to Thomas Durward.—Sir Alan Durward.—Dispute regarding Church Lands.—The Settlement.—Sir Alan's Death.—The Cummings.

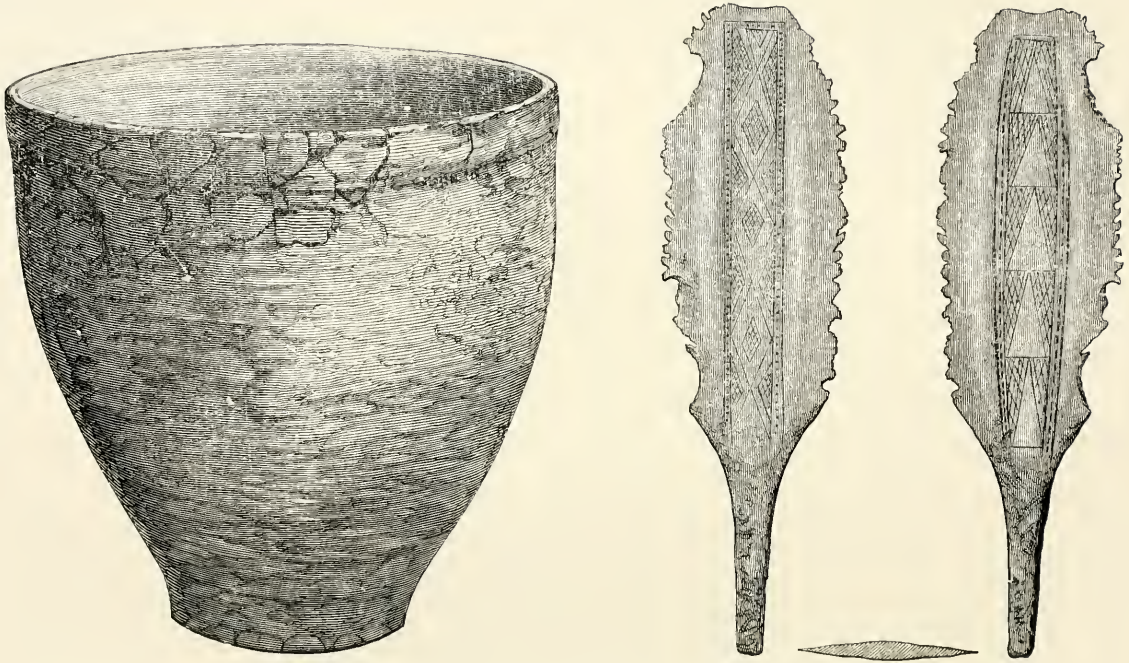
"I BEND mine eye," sings the Gaelic bard, "on the ages fled; seen but in slender gleams is all that was—like to the glimmer of a sickly moon on water winding through the glen."[1] And as it was in the days of the bard, so it is even now; for slender,

[1] "Tha mo shealladh air linnte a dh'aom,
Cha'n fhaicear ach caol na bh'ann—
Mar dhearrsa na geallaich tha faoin
Air linne tha claon 's a' ghleann."
—OSSIAN: "Cath Loduinn."

indeed, and few are the gleams that cheer the student of the past on his dark journey through the early ages. In the beginning, says our oldest Book, the earth was without form, and void; and Geology tells how, during the slow course of immeasurable time, it assumed its present aspect—how the rocks were made, the mountains raised, the valleys formed, and the sea divided from the dry land. In the process great changes came over the face of the earth. Not to go beyond our own Scotland, the land at one time rose high above the ocean: at another, it sank deep beneath its waves.[1] For untold ages it was exposed to the scorching rays of a tropical sun: for another period of perhaps equal duration it lay buried under an overwhelming weight of ice, that crushed its rocks and rounded its mountain sides.[2] The marks of these great changes still remain; but there is little or no trace of its earliest inhabitants. We step almost into modern times before we get the first glimpse of man as he slowly emerges from a state scarcely higher than that of the beasts of the field. Following him down through the centuries, we are able to trace his progress by such land-marks as the use of weapons and implements—at first made of stone, and thereafter, as his knowledge

1 The margin of a lake, which in former ages covered the lower portions of Urquhart, is still seen in the beautiful terrace which almost surrounds the Strath.

2 Deep ice markings on the rocks beyond Achtuie indicate the course of one great glacier which passed over the ridge from the direction of Strone Point, and of another which came down the Glen, from the direction of Corrimony.



URN AND BRONZE BLADE FOUND AT BALNALICK (Blade Natural Size).

widens, of bronze or of iron;[1] the abandonment of the natural caves of the earth for habitations built with his own hands; and the cultivation of the soil for the production of food for himself and the animals which he has tamed for his service. There is no written record of the earlier ages. For the first references to the inhabitants of the Highlands we must search the pages of certain Latin authors who derived their knowledge of them from the Roman soldiers who served the Cæsars in Britain. From Lucan and other writers of the first century we learn that in their time our part of the island was inhabited by the Caledonian Britons *(Caledonii Britanni)*, the same who valiantly opposed the legions of Agricola at the battle of Mons Grampius. We gather from the geographer Ptolemy, who flourished about the year 120, that in his day the country extending from Loch Long *(Lemannonius Sinus)* to the Beauly Firth *(Varar Æstuarium*[2]*)*, and embracing the glens which now bear the names of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, was peopled by the *Caledonii*, one of several tribes into which the Caledonian Britons were then divided; and in the time of Severus (A.D. 208), those tribes were combined into two nations—*Caledonii* and *Mœatæ*—which, a century later, appear under the general name of

1 Numerous stone implements have been found in the Parish. In 1887 a beautiful bronze blade was found in a sepulchral urn at Balnalick, for a description of which (by Mr Angus Grant) see Proc. of Society of Antiq. of Scot., 1887-8.

2 The name Varar still survives in the River Farrar, and Glen Strathfarrar—the Glen of the Strath of Farrar.

Picti, a name well known and much dreaded during the latter years of the Roman occupation. North of the Grampians were the Northern Picts. The Southern Picts inhabited the country lying to the south and east of that range. Those divisions were again sub-divided into provinces, the most noted of which was Muireb or Moray, which extended, on the one hand, from the Spey to the Forne or Beauly (the ancient Varar), and, on the other hand, from the Moray Firth to Lochaber. In Moray was situated that district the history of which this book is to tell —the "Urchard in Moravia," and "Urquhart in Murrayland," of former annalists.

The legendary element bulks largely in the early story of the district. Once upon a time, says one pretty myth, the great glen which now lies under the waters of Loch Ness was a beautiful valley, sheltered from every blast by high mountains, clothed with trees and herbs of richest hues. This vale was covered with verdant pasture, over which roamed the flocks of the people; and through it flowed a majestic river in which was found every fish good for the food of man. Although the people were many, peace and friendship prevailed. The women plied the distaff, and their homes and children they did not forsake; and when the men did not hunt the boar in the forest they chased the deer on the mountain, and when they did not chase the deer on the mountain they tended their cattle on the plain.

There was a spring in this happy vale which was blessed by Daly the Druid, and whose waters were ever afterwards an unfailing remedy for every disease. This holy well was protected from pollution by a stone placed over it by the Druid, who enjoined that whenever the stone was removed for the drawing of water, it should be immediately replaced. "The day on which my command is disregarded," said he, "desolation will overtake the land." The words of Daly were remembered by the people, and became a law among them; and so day followed day, and year gave place to year.

But on one of the days a woman left the child of her bosom by the fireside, and went to the well to draw water. No sooner did she remove the stone from its place than the cry reached her ear that the child had moved towards the fire. Rushing to the house, she saved the infant—but she forgot the word of the Druid, and omitted to replace the stone. The waters rose and overflowed the vale; and the people escaped to the mountains and filled the air with lamentation, and the rocks echoed back the despairing cry—*Tha loch 'nis ann, tha loch 'nis ann!*—"There is a lake now, there is a lake now!" And the lake remained, and it is called Loch-Nis to this day.[1]

The Tales of the Sons of Uisneach account otherwise for the name of the Loch. In the days of Conachar Mac Nessa,[2] who was King of Ulster in the first century, there lived in Ireland a man of the

1 Loch-Nis: so written in Gaelic; pronounced *Loch Nĕĕsh.*
2 Conachar—anciently Conchobar.

name of Colum Cruitire, whose daughter Deirdire, or Dearduil, was the most beautiful woman of her age. "She was the fairest drop of blood between earth and sun, and there never was born in Ireland a drop of blood so fair as she." Conachar resolved to make this daughter of beauty his wife. "Give me but a year and a day in my maidenhood," said she; and her request was granted. Before the end of the year and day, who visited the King but his cousins Naois, Aillean, and Ardan, the renowned sons of Uisneach. Naois fell in love with Dearduil, and Dearduil loved Naois; and, accompanied by Aillean and Ardan, they fled together to Scotland. On the shore of Loch Naois (Loch Ness) they built a tower from the window of which they could slay the salmon, and from the door the bounding stag; and here they for a season lived in safety and happiness. But their retreat became known to Conachar, and he sent Farquhar Mac Ro to them with an assurance of his friendship and an invitation to a great feast which he was about to give. Dearduil foreboded evil, and entreated Naois not to go; but he would not listen to her, and they all accompanied Farquhar Mac Ro to Ireland. The King's promises were fair, but his heart was false; and the Sons of Uisneach were treacherously slain, and their bodies laid in one grave. Then Dearduil looked into the open grave and said—"Let Naois of my love move to one side: let Aillean press close to Ardan: if the dead could only hear, you would make room for me." And the dead did make room

for her; and she, laying herself by her husband's side, expired. But the King would not have Naois and Dearduil lie in the same grave, and he caused her to be buried on the opposite bank of an adjoining stream; and a tender pine sprang out of the grave of Naois, and another out of the grave of Dearduil, and the pines grew and joined above the stream.[1]

Although the Children of Uisneach were thus slain, their fame did not die in Alban; and as the name of Naois is borne by Loch Ness, the river Ness, and Inverness, so does the vitrified fort of Dun Dearduil, on the Stratherrick side of the lake, bear that of his faithful Darthula.[2]

The Romans, whose dominion never extended over the territory of the Northern Picts, were forced, in the year 410, for ever to quit Britain; and for the next century and a half the history of the North of Scotland is hidden in impenetrable mists. When the clouds rise, we find Brude Mac Mailcon, the Pictish King, who had his seat on the

1 See the full Gaelic version of this tale (by Mr Alex. Carmichael, LL.D.) in Transactions of Inverness Gaelic Society, Vol. XIII.

2 The legendary origin of the name of Loch Ness must not be accepted seriously. The true origin will be discussed in the appendix on place-names. The Children of Uisneach, however, who gave many place-names to the district of Loch Etive, appear also to have been associated with the district of Loch Ness. In Deirdire's Lament for Alba, Naois and herself are thus referred to :—

> He sent to her a frisking herd—
> A wild hind and a fawn at its foot;
> And he went to her on a visit
> As he returned from the host of Inverness.
>
> —Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin (1808); Translation in *Highland Monthly* for July, 1890.

banks of the river Ness, at war with the Dalriad Scots, a Gaelic race whom he defeated in 560; and St Columba at war with paganism at Brude's court, and preaching the gospel in *Airchartdan*—the first mention we have of the name of our Parish.[1] Columba's story will be told in a future chapter. Brude died about 584, and for generations after his death his successors maintained a hard struggle for existence—sometimes fighting with their old enemies of Dalriada; sometimes engaged in internecine feuds with Pictish claimants to the crown; and, latterly, involved in frequent trouble with the fierce Norse Vikings, who had begun to ravage and lay waste the Scottish shores. Suffering thus from within and without, the Pictish monarchy gradually declined, until, in 844, Kenneth Macalpin, King of the Scots, but in whose veins Pictish blood flowed, placed the crown of Brude on his own head. He did not extirpate the Pictish nation, as historians have erroneously supposed. On the contrary, for half a century he and his successors were called kings of the Picts. The old race still survived, and the present inhabitants of the province, including the people of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, are their direct descendants—mixed with the Gael, and to a slight extent with the Norse and the Saxon. The Pictish tongue, however, which was nearly allied to the Welsh, gave place in course of time to its distant relation, the Gaelic language of the Scots—the result, mainly, of the

1 Adamnan's Vita Sancti Columbæ III., c. xv.

influence of the Gaelic-speaking clergy of the Celtic Church.

Those Picts of Moray were deeply imbued with the spirit of liberty, and very stubborn was the fight which they made for their independence. Led by their own mormaors, or "great-mayors," they for many years struggled for freedom, not only against the Scots, who harassed their southern borders, but also against the Norsemen, who pressed hard upon them from the north. For a time they were forced to own the Norse sway; but they threw off their yoke in the time of the Mormaor Finlay, who in 1020 was succeeded by his son, the famous Macbeth. The new mormaor at first allied himself with the Scottish King—the Gracious Duncan of Shakespeare—and made common cause with him against the powerful Norwegian Earl Thorfinn. In the end, however, he slew the King, and joined the Earl in partitioning the country between themselves. Macbeth took the crown and the territory of the dead King, leaving the province of Moray to Thorfinn, who became ruler of all Scotland north of the Grampians. The Moraymen repudiated the selfish arrangement, but it was only on Thorfinn's death in 1057 that they were able finally to get rid of the Viking rule.

In connection with these events, tradition relates that *Monaidh Mac Righ Lochlainn*—Monie, son of the King of Scandinavia—landed in Argyll with a large force, accompanied by his sister. His retreat to his ships having been cut off by the

natives, he was pursued northward through the Caledonian valley, until he reached Urquhart, where he made a stand on the high rock of Craigmonie, which is still crowned with the remains of ancient fortifications. There he and his companions bravely held their own for a time, his sister taking shelter in a crevice still known as *Leabaidh Nighean an Righ*—the Bed of the King's Daughter. Driven at last to the plain below, the Norsemen were forced to give battle, and were defeated with great slaughter. Monie escaped with his sister, but at Corrimony he was overtaken and slain. The people of the Glen took kindly to the hapless princess, and she lived among them for many a day.[1]

King Duncan left a son, Malcolm, called Ceannmor, or Bighead, who, when he reached the years of manhood, resolved to wrest his father's kingdom from Macbeth. His efforts met with success, and Macbeth lost his crown and his life in battle with him, in 1057. About the same time, Thorfinn died, and the province of Moray reverted to the rule of the mormaors, who assumed the style and claimed the independence of kings. But the covetous eye of Ceannmor was on the fair province. He invaded it in 1078, and, routing the forces of the Mormaor Maelsnectan—*Ri Muireb* (King of Moray) as he is called in the Annals of Ulster—annexed it to his crown. On

1 The Norse Sagas contain numerous instances of women accompanying the Vikings on their warlike expeditions. The place-names in the immediate vicinity of Craigmonie point to some conflict or conflicts of the past—*Blair na Geilt*, the Field of Terror; *Poll a' Ghaorr*, the Pool of Gore; *Lag nan Cuspairean*, the Hollow of the Archers.

Malcolm's death it again fell under the rule of the mormaors, and a long struggle for it began. In 1130 David the First defeated the Moraymen, and slew Angus their mormaor, and four thousand of their number. *Ar fer Muriamh in Albain*—the slaughter of the Men of Moray in Alban—are the significant words in which the Irish annals record the event.[1]

After this disaster, the Men of Moray not only owned David's sway, but also fought under his banner. In his war with King Stephen they followed him into England, and had the honour of fighting under his own immediate command at the Battle of the Standard.[2] But they were submissive only so long as they were weak, and in 1160 they again measured swords with their old foes. The superior numbers of the Scots prevailed; and Malcolm the Second, wishing to put an end for ever to the aspirations of the Moraymen, removed their principal men to other parts of his kingdom, and gave their possessions to loyal followers of his own. The pacification which he desired was, however, not yet possible. The old race still continued to dream of a separate independence, and new leaders arose to guide and direct them.

During the latter half of the twelfth century Urquhart appears to have been under the rule of one Conachar, or Ochonachar, a mighty man who looms largely in the half mythical legends of our Parish. He is supposed to have been an Irishman

1 Annals of Innisfallen, in Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, 170.
2 Hailes' Annals.

of the royal house of Ulster, and he probably received the Castle of Urquhart and the surrounding territory, which is said to have been previously possessed by Macraes and Macleans,[1] as his reward for services rendered to the King in the war of 1160. To Conachar the families of Forbes, Mackay, and Urquhart still look back as their common ancestor; and, in allusion to his wonderful feat of killing a wild boar of extraordinary fierceness and strength, the three families in after years adopted the boar's head as their arms. Strangely enough, the legend of his adventure with the boar, which is referred to by a historian[2] of the house of Forbes in the seventeenth century, still survives in our Parish. Once upon a time, says this tale of the olden time,[3] the Castle of Urquhart was occupied by a mighty man named Conachar Mor Mac Aoidh—Great Conachar, son of Aodh—who possessed a dog, which, on account of its extraordinary size, was known as *An Cu Mor*—the Big Dog. The Big Dog, when young, was fleet of foot and powerful of limb; but age and its infirmities gradually overtook it, and at last it seldom moved beyond the walls of the Castle. Conachar desired to destroy the useless animal, but was prevented by an old woman who

1 Rev. James Fraser of Wardlaw's Chronology of the Bissets and Frasers of Lovat, MS. in Advocates' Library.

2 William Forbes, who states, in his Preface to Lumsden's "Houss of Forbes," that Conachar "killed a great boare, and he hade three sons, who were called the sons of him that killed the boare or the beast."

3 See the full Gaelic version in the Author's Legends of Glen-Urquhart: Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. I. (1872).

said, "Leig leis a' chu: tha lath' fhein a feitheamh air"—"Let the dog live: his own day awaits him." And so it did; for on one of the days, as Conachar went forth to hunt, he was followed by the Big Dog, playful and nimble as in the days of its youth. The country was ravaged and ruined at the time by a wild boar from which no man was ever known to have escaped alive; and, ere Conachar had proceeded far, he was attacked by the fierce monster. Manfully though he defended himself, his spear fell harmless on his rough-skinned foe, and he would have been overpowered had not the faithful Cu Mor joined in the combat. The struggle was long and terrible, but in the end the boar was slain. But, alas! the dog also received its death-wound, and expired at its master's feet. Conachar himself, thus saved by its devotion, lived for many a day. He and his sword lie beneath Clach Ochonachair, at Innis Ochonachair in Urquhart.[1]

[1] The Forbeses trace their descent from Conachar's son, John, to whom King William the Lion granted the lands of Forbois in Aberdeenshire [History of the House and Clan of Mackay, 27]. Conachar's son, Alexander, was employed by the same King to repel the Danes from Caithness, and, having succeeded, received the territory of the vanquished, and became the first Chief of the Clan Mac Aoidh or Mackay [History of Clan Mackay, 27; William Forbes' Preface to "Houss of Forbes"]. Archibald Grant, the Bard of Glenmoriston, sings—

"Rugadh air a' mhuir a' cheud fhear
O'n do shiollaich Clann Mhic Aoidh—
Conachar mor ruadh o'n chuan."

That is, "He was born on the sea from whom the Clan Mackay are descended—Great Conachar the Red, from the ocean." The Urquharts are descended from another son of Conachar. The eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart states, in his True Pedigree, that in B.C. 554 "Beltistos married Thomyris. This Beltistos was surnamed Conachar, for which cause a certain progeny descended of him is till this hour called the

Notwithstanding the Plantation of Moray, as the removal of the native chiefs, and the settlement of strangers in their place, was called, the natives of Moray still continued to give trouble to the Scottish kings. They looked with no friendly eye on the established Roman Catholic Church and the feudal institutions which it found it politic to foster; and so freely did its possessions suffer at their hands that Pope Innocent found it necessary, in 1215, to issue from his far-off home on the banks of the Tiber a special protection to several churches within the province. Among them was that of our Parish—*Ecclesia de Urchard ultra Inuernys*.[1] The Pope invoked the curse of God and of Peter and Paul on such as disturbed the churches or their possessions; but the Men of Moray cared for none of these things, and Zion was not yet to enjoy peace and felicity. In 1228, Gillespic Mac Scolane placed himself at the head of the disaffected, and in course of his career set fire to Inverness, burnt certain

generation of the Ochonachars, a race truly of great antiquity and renown in the dominion of Ireland. Beltistos founded the Castle of Urquhart above Invernasse [Inverness], which, being afterwards completed by his posterity, hath ever since been called the Castle Vickichonchar." Nisbet the antiquary states that a brother of Lord Forbes, "having in keeping the Castle of Urquhart, took his name from the place;" and William Forbes, in his Preface to the "Houss of Forbes," informs us that Conachar's second son "was called Urquhart, of whom is descended the Laird of Cromartie and the Urquharts; and to testifie to all posteritie that they descended of him that killed the beast, they caused erect just the like monuments at the Castell of Urquhart as is lying at Logie, which is yet to be seen there, as is alleadged." It may be more than a coincidence that Inverness-shire contains an Urquhart and an Innis-Ochonachair; Ross-shire an Urquhart and a Bad-Ochonachair; and Fifeshire an Urquhart and a Kil-Conquhar (Cill-Conachar).

1 Registrum Moraviense, p. 43.

castles, which were then built of timber, and harried the lands belonging to the Church and the Crown. The King marched against him in person, without much effect; but, in 1229, the insurgent chief and his two sons were treacherously slain by John Cumming, Justiciar or Chief-Justice of Scotland, who sent their heads to the King.[1] The long struggle of the Men of Moray for liberty thus came to an end. Henceforth they dreamt no more of a separate independence.

Upon the suppression of the insurrection the old plan of bestowing the lands of the offenders upon loyal strangers was resorted to. Urquhart was granted to Thomas Durward,[2] who possessed extensive estates in other parts of the kingdom, and who was appointed to the then high office of Sheriff of Inverness. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Alan Durward, Justiciar of Scotland, who, having married Marjory, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander the Second, entered into negotiations with the Pope to legitimate her, and from whom was descended Nicholas de Soulis, one of the claimants to the Crown after the death of the Maid of Norway. Sir Alan coveted and claimed a half davach[3] of land in Urquhart, which belonged to the church of

1 Fordun; Hailes' Annals.

2 The name was derived from the office of King's *doorward (ostiarius)*, which became hereditary in the family.

3 Glen-Urquhart consisted of ten davachs—deich dochan Urchudainn—which varied in extent. The word is derived from the Gaelic dabhach, a vat. Like *boll, bushel,* &c., it originally represented a measure of *grain,* and, also like those words, came in time to be applied to a certain extent of *land*—an extent, probably, sufficient to receive a dabhach of grain as seed. Certain fields in Urquhart are still called *bolls.*

the Parish, and the revenues of which were enjoyed by the Chancellor of Moray. William, the Chancellor, resisted the claim. Through the intervention of the Bishop the quarrel was ended by a compromise, the terms of which were embodied in a Latin deed which does credit to the monkish lawyers of the period. "That noble man," Sir Alan Durward, says this deed, after narrating the cause of the dispute—"that noble man, for the sake of peace, has given to the church of Urquhart half the lands claimed, namely, the half of the half davach which is called the half davach of the foresaid church, in pure, free, and perpetual charity. But he and his heirs will possess the other half of the half davach in perpetual feu-farm, giving therefor yearly to the church of Urquhart ten shillings, namely, five shillings at Pentecost [Whitsunday], and five shillings at the feast of St Martin [Martinmas] in winter next following. But further the said church of Urquhart will have one whole croft and one toft of four acres assigned to the said church near it, in a suitable and convenient place, in gift of the said noble man, in pure, free, and perpetual charity."[1]

[1] Reg. Morav., 96. The lands in dispute were those of Achmonie, which originally extended from Drumbuie to Cartaly (Reg. Morav., 155). The part retained by the Church under this Agreement was Achmonie proper: the portion ceded to Durward was Culnakirk, which, at a later period, fell to the Crown, and was granted to John Grant of Glenmoriston in 1509. In 1557 Achmonie proper was sold to John Mackay. Latterly its revenues seem to have gone to the Bishop. The return made for lands held by the Church in pure charity *(in puram eleemosynam)* consisted of prayers and supplications for the grantor during his life, and masses for his soul after death. No pecuniary payments or military services were exacted.

The deed was executed in March, 1233, and witnessed by Gylleroch de Urchard and others.

Sir Alan Durward died in 1275 without male issue, and his estates were divided among his three daughters. His great rivals, the Cummings of Badenoch, seem soon afterwards to have obtained possession of Urquhart Castle and its domain, and to have retained it until the troubles that followed the death of King Alexander the Third.

CHAPTER II

1296—1362

Edward I. invades Scotland.—John of Glen-Urquhart.—Urquhart Castle taken by the English.—Sir William Fitzwarine Constable.—He is harassed by Andrew Moray.—A Sabbath Day's Journey and Fight.—The Countess of Ross in Urquhart.—Moray besieges the Castle.—Death of William Puer and Fitzwarine's Son.—An Army of Relief.—The King's Instructions.—Fitzwarine's Letter to the King.—Sir William Wallace.—The English expelled from Urquhart—Forbes Constable.—Fitzwarine in Prison.—His Wife's Devotion.—Edward's Great Invasion.—The English again in Urquhart.—Forbes and his Garrison put to the Sword.—His Wife's Escape.—Sir Alexander Cumming Constable.—Bruce.—Thomas Randolph Proprietor of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.—His Highland Followers.—His Regency and Administration of Justice.—His Murder.—Death of his son, Thomas Randolph.—John Randolph.—Sir Robert Lauder holds the Castle against Baliol.—His Visitors at the Castle.—Sir Robert Chisholm.—John Randolph slain. and Chisholm made Prisoner.—Chisholm Constable of the Castle.—Death of Lauder.—His Character.

The events that led to the invasion of Scotland by Edward the First of England are well known to every reader of Scottish history. At the battle of Dunbar, fought in April, 1296, the Scots were defeated; and, among the prisoners taken by the English when Dunbar Castle subsequently surrendered, were John of Glen-Urquhart and his neighbours, Christine, son of John of the Aird, and two of the valiant Grahams

of Lovat. These northern warriors were in the retinue of the Earl of Ross, with whom they were sent in chains to England. John of Glen-Urquhart was confined in Berkhamstead Castle until July, 1297, when he and the Grahams were liberated on condition of serving the English King in France.[1]

After Dunbar Edward marched victoriously through Scotland, until he reached Elgin. From that ancient ecclesiastical centre he sent out detachments of his army to seize the northern strongholds. The Castle of Urquhart, which now appears for the first time on the page of undoubted history, was taken and placed under the charge of Sir William Fitzwarine, an English knight who had acquired influence in Scotland through his marriage with Mary of Argyll, Queen of Man, and Countess of Stratherne.

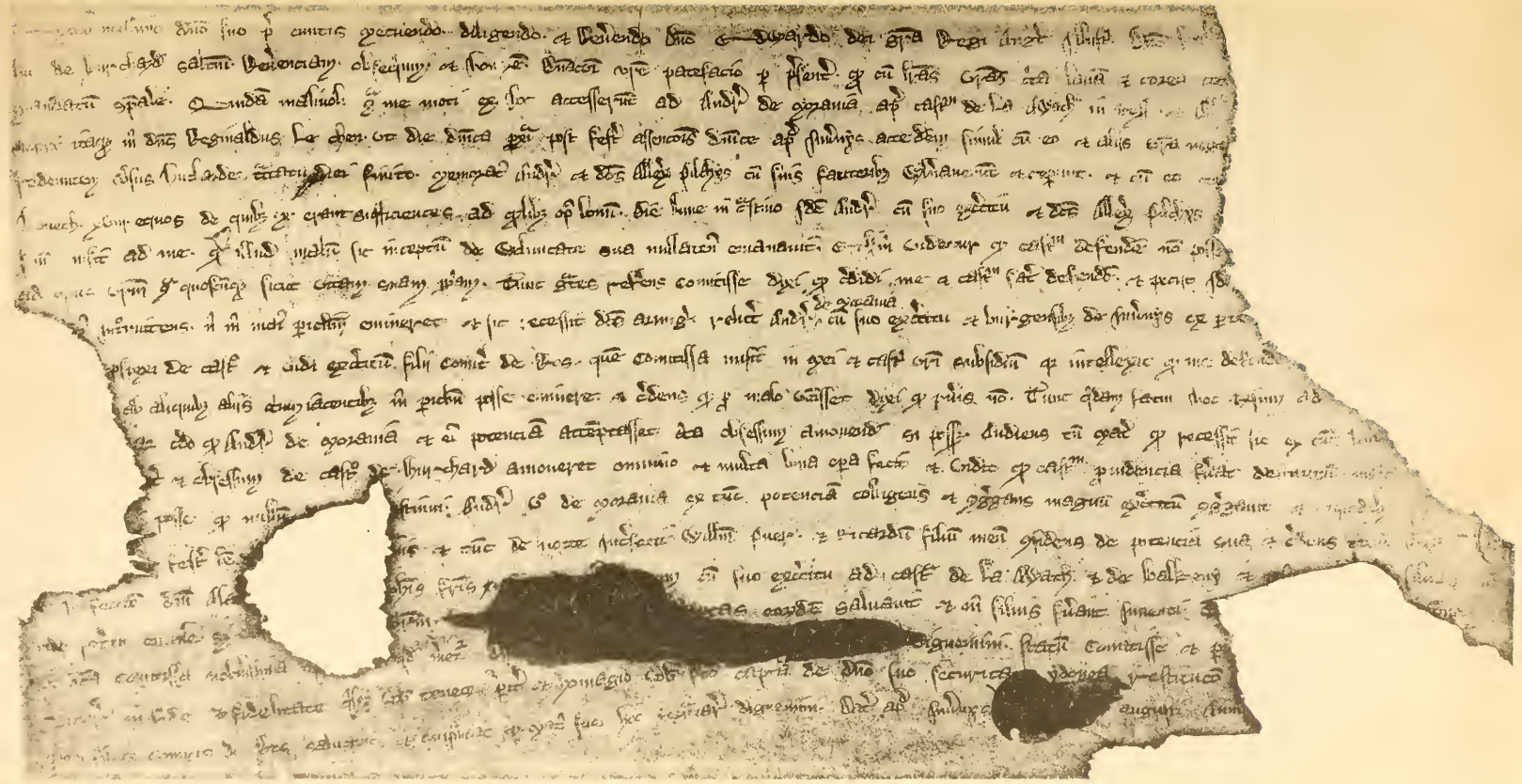
Having arranged for the management of affairs in Scotland, Edward returned to his own country, exulting in the thought of having effectually subdued the Scottish people. But he was doomed to disappointment. In the South Sir William Wallace had placed himself at the head of a resolute band who refused to bear the English yoke; while to his companion, Andrew Moray, son of Sir Andrew Moray, proprietor of Petty, near Inverness, and of Avoch in Ross, was entrusted the duty of raising the Highlanders. Moray's appeal to the northern patriots met with a ready response, and, notwithstanding the active friendship of John of the Aird, who desired to procure

1 Rotuli Scotiæ, I., 43, 44. Stevenson's Historical Documents, II., 51.

his son's liberty, and of the Countess of Ross, who worked for her husband's release, Fitzwarine and his English garrison were sorely pressed. His own letter to the King, giving an account of his troubles, still exists.[1] From this venerable and somewhat mutilated document, which is dated the 8th day before the Kalends of August (or 25th July), 1297, and of which a fac-simile is here given, we learn that certain persons who were moved against Fitzwarine having betaken themselves to Andrew Moray at the Castle of Avoch, and to Alexander Pilchys, or Pilche, a patriotic burgess of Inverness, for aid, Sir Reginald le Chen, who commanded the English troops at Inverness, wrote to Fitzwarine requesting him to repair to that town on Sunday next after the Feast of the Ascension, for consultation concerning the King's affairs. The Constable of Urquhart accordingly travelled to Inverness on the Sunday morning, with a company of horsemen. Having attended the conference, he started on his return journey; but on the way he was attacked by Moray and Pilche, and two at least of his principal followers fell, wounded, into their hands, in addition to eighteen of his horses, "of which ten were sufficient for every good work." The skirmish appears to have been a severe one.[2] The riders of the captured horses were doubtless slain or taken prisoners; and the probability is that Moray also lost some of his men. Fitzwarine himself escaped, and

1 No. 3258 of Royal Letters, in Public Record Office, London.

2 The fight is probably commemorated by *Eas a' Chath* (the Cascade of the Battle) and the adjoining "Battlefield," near Dochfour and on the ancient road leading from Inverness to Urquhart by Caiplich.



reached the Castle. He was followed by Moray and Pilche; and next morning the Countess of Ross, who had also arrived in the district, sent an esquire to assure him that she had not been a party to the attack, and to offer her aid in the defence of the fort. He, however, did not desire her intermeddling, "lest greater peril should happen to him;" and so returned her his thanks and declined the offer, as he "trusted sufficiently to defend himself and the Castle." The esquire departed and got safely past Moray's retainers and the burgesses of Inverness. The Constable then looked forth from the Castle and saw the force of the Earl of Ross's son, whom the Countess had sent to his relief; but, "believing that for evil he had come," he again refused the proffered aid. His suspicions were, however, unfounded, and the Countess subsequently furnished him with much needed supplies, and "did many other good works."

Moray, having gathered a considerable army, besieged the Castle, and in a night attack killed William Puer, and Richard, the Constable's son, and apparently several others. He, however, raised the siege, and retired for a time with his men to the Castles of Avoch and Balkeny, and the woods of the district—the result, probably, of assistance given to Fitzwarine by the Countess and John of the Aird.

Tidings of these events soon reached the watchful Edward, and on 11th June he addressed a letter to Henry le Chen, the warrior-bishop of Aberdeen,

ordering him and Sir Gartenet, son of the Earl of Mar, to the relief of the Castle. "Because from the report of certain individuals," says the King, after complimenting the Bishop and Sir Gartenet on their diligence and fidelity in the government of the Sheriffdom of Aberdeen—"because from the report of certain individuals we learn that certain malefactors and disturbers of the peace, roaming about, have killed some of our servants, and imprisoned others, and that they detain those thus imprisoned, and are maliciously laying ambushes for our beloved and faithful William Fitzwarine, Constable of our Castle of Urquhart, for the purpose of seizing that Castle, and, if possible, capturing William himself, we, desiring to stop their mischief-making as quickly as possible, lest worse may come of it, entrust it to you, asking you in the faith and love in which you are held by us—strongly enjoining you—that you and the forementioned Gartenet, taking with you all your own forces and those of the whole Sheriffdom of Aberdeen, proceed to the foresaid Castle without any delay, and see the condition of it; and thereafter, in consultation with the said William, provide and direct that the Castle may be so strengthened and garrisoned that no damage or danger may in any way occur to it. And, for arresting malefactors of this kind and bringing them to justice, do ye comport yourselves with the vigour I expect of you, that I may rightly commend in this business your diligence and fidelity."[1]

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, I., 41.

At the same time John Cumming, Earl of Buchan and Constable of Scotland, and his brother, Sir Alexander Cumming, were ordered to join the Bishop and Sir Gartenet with their men, and to remain in the North until the disturbances were quelled.[1] Obedient to these commands, the Bishop and the Earl and the two Knights led their united forces toward Urquhart. On their way they were met near the Spey by Andrew Moray, at the head of "a very large body of rogues" whom the English wished to fight; but "the aforesaid rogues betook themselves into a very great stronghold of bog and wood, where no horsemen could be of service."[2] When the expedition reached Inverness the leaders sent for the Countess of Ross, who came and gave them willing aid in counsel and men; and from that town they, in July, despatched letters to the King, reporting their progress and commending the Countess for her zeal in His Majesty's cause.[3] At the same time Fitzwarine sent his letter of 25th July, together with a petition for the release of Christine of the Aird. "Be it known, moreover, to your dread Lordship," said he to the King, "that a certain noble man, who is called John of the Aird, has been diligent about our safety and in saving the lives of our boys, and has one son at Corff, who is called Christine, who was taken from the retinue of the Earl of Ross; for whom I supplicate that you will deign to send him to me, and in my aid to

1 Stevenson, II., 211. 2 Report to Edward.—*Ibid.*
3 Stevenson, II., 209-211.

Urquhart; you knowing for certain that by the contemplation of him I shall have the country favourable and gracious: and where he is he serves you to no purpose, and we shall have great favour by his presence in this country: and, if this does not please you, retain him in your Court, if you please."[1]

When the Bishop and his companions approached Urquhart with their large army, the patriots who had so troubled Fitzwarine prudently betook themselves to their native fastnesses, and patiently watched the course of events. They had not long to wait. Sir William Wallace made his way into the North of Scotland with a body of tried followers. It is difficult to trace his footsteps, and what his successes were we have no means of exactly determining. But we know that he was at Aberdeen; he is said to have reached Cromarty; he probably saw Moray's Castle of Avoch; and the authoress of "The Scottish Chiefs," in representing him as visiting the Castle of Urquhart, may in her romance have accurately stated a historical fact. Be that as it may, before the end of the year the English were driven out of Urquhart; and the keeping of the Castle was entrusted to Sir Alexander de Bois, or Forbes, who faithfully held it in name of Baliol, to whom the Scots still looked as their lawful King. Forbes had an hereditary interest in the Castle, for he was the great-great-grandson of Conachar, its ancient lord.

Before the Castle surrendered to the patriots Fitzwarine was appointed Constable of the Castle

1 Royal Letters, No. 2472, in Record Office, London.

of Stirling. He subsequently fell into the hands of the Scots, by whom he was kept in prison. His wife, Mary of Argyll, enjoyed the special protection of the English King;[1] but she was not satisfied with her own personal freedom. She visited Edward in England, and interceded so successfully on behalf of her husband that an arrangement was come to in April, 1299, under which he was set at liberty by the Scots in exchange for the liberation of Henry St Clair by the English.[2] At the same time several other prisoners, English and Scots, regained their liberty through the good offices of Mary of Argyll.[3] Her husband, however, did not long survive. He was dead before the end of the year.[4]

The war continued for several years, bringing no great advantage to England, and causing distress and desolation in Scotland. At last Edward resolved to make a strenuous effort to bring it to a successful close. Concluding a treaty of peace with France, he, early in 1303, entered Scotland with an immense army of English, Welsh, Irish, and Gascons. Meeting with little opposition, he marched through the kingdom until he reached the island-fortress of Lochindorb

1 Stevenson II., 370—footnote.

2 Bain's Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, II., 1062-1104.

3 Stevenson II., 370.

4 Gough's Documents relating to the Campaign of Edward the First, p. 249. Fitzwarine appears to have been a younger son of the powerful family of that name in Shropshire. Mary of Argyll (Maria de Ergadia) was in all probability a daughter of Ewen de Ergadia. She was married to (1st) Magnus, King of Man; (2nd) Malise, Earl of Stratherne; (3rd) Fitzwarine.

near Forres, burning and laying waste the country. From Lochindorb he sent forth his forces against the other strongholds of the North. Those of Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness, awed by the near presence of the Hammer of the Scottish Nation, opened their gates without resistance. It was otherwise with the Castle of Urquhart. In Edward's letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen he directed him, as we have seen, to consult with Fitzwarine as to the best means of increasing the strength of the Castle. The result of their deliberations appears to have been the erection of those massive entrance towers whose ruins still guard the only landward approach.[1] These towers, built to check the eager Highlanders, had now become their defence; and, when Forbes was summoned to surrender, he refused with scorn. The English, therefore, settled down on the gentle slope that connects the Castle Rock with the adjacent Eagle's Height, resolved to starve the garrison into submission. Winter was near, and Edward returned to the South, and took up his quarters at Dunfermline.

During the siege the English forces lay under the shadow of the Eagle's Height, supporting themselves at the expense of the surrounding country; while the brave band on the Rock husbanded their scanty stores to the utmost. But soon the last morsel was doled out, and Forbes and his companions resolved to fight their way through the enemy, or perish in the attempt. The impatient besiegers see with joy

1 See Appendix A for description of the Castle, by Dr Alexander Ross.

the drawbridge lowered—but the only person who crosses is an ill-clad female who informs them that she is a poor woman who happened to be within the Castle when the siege began, and that her present condition—for she is about to become a mother—necessitates her venturing forth. Her story is believed; the generous soldiers permit her to pass; and she climbs the brow of the Eagle's Height, from which, as from the gallery of a theatre, she may witness the desperate step about to be taken by her husband—for she is none other than the wife of Sir Alexander Forbes, clad in beggar's garb the more easily to escape detection.

When the lonely lady had got fairly beyond danger the drawbridge was again made to span the moat, and Forbes and his faithful followers dashed across into the midst of the astonished English. They fought with the courage of despair—

> "They fought together as brethren true,
> Like hardy men and bolde;
> Many a man to the ground they thrue,
> And many a harte made colde."

But it was not possible for them to pierce through the mass of soldiery, and they were cut down to a man.

Forbes' wife escaped to Ireland, where, to quote Boece, "She bore hir son Alexander. This Alexander, quhen Scotland wes recoverit out of Inglismennis handis, come to King Robert Bruce and desirit to be restorit to his faderis heritage, quhilk

wes occupyit for the time with othir possessoris. King Robert wes wery quhat was to be done in this mater; for he thocht it nocht semand that ane prince suld tak the landis fra nobill men, quhilkis wer gevin to thaim in reward of thair manheid; and als it wes not just to spulye the man of his kindely heritage, quhilk had his fader, his freindis, and all his guddis tint in defence of the realme. Thus wes ane midway devisit be quhilk certane landis in Mar, of litil les proffet than the landis of Urquhard, were gevin to the said Alexander Boyis.''[1]

This Alexander was a worthy son of his brave father. He was a zealous supporter of the house of Bruce, and fell at the battle of Dupplin in 1332.

The Castle having on the death of Forbes been taken possession of by the invaders, Sir Alexander Cumming was appointed Constable both of it and of Tarwedaile, "two of the strongest castles in the country,''[2] and he continued to hold it in Edward's interest till the final expulsion of the English by Robert the Bruce.

During Edward's triumphant progress through Scotland John Cumming of Badenoch, Governor of the Kingdom, kept up a show of resistance; but his forces were routed near Stirling, and his submission speedily followed. Wallace, however, still refused to yield; but in 1305 he was betrayed by the false

1 Bellenden's Boece (Ed. 1821), vol. II., p. 377. See also Holingshed; Buchanan; Abercrombie's Martial Achievements; and Aberdeen and Banff Collections (Spalding Club), 609.

2 Letter, Earl of Atholl to Edward I., in Record Office. Tarwedaile: probably Tarradale or Redcastle, in Ross-shire.

Menteith, and conveyed to London, where, after a sham trial for treason to a King whose sovereignty he had never owned, he was put to death with a refinement of cruelty that brands the character of Edward with indelible infamy.

With the view of terrifying the Scots into submission, Edward had the severed limbs of the patriot publicly exposed in Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. The effect was not what he had anticipated. The ghastly spectacle only strengthened the resolution of the people, and when, in 1306, Bruce deserted the English cause and was crowned King of Scots, desperate and determined men flocked to his standard. In the North his principal supporter was David, Bishop of Moray, who went through his diocese exhorting the people to fight for liberty, and boldly preaching the doctrine that to resist the English was as meritorious as to join the Crusaders who made their way to heaven through the blood of pagans and Saracens.

Bruce, unfortunate at first, and forced to seek safety in the Western Isles, at length met with some measure of success; and, making his way northward, he seized the Castle of Inverness, which was negligently guarded on account of its remote situation.[1] The capture of Urquhart Castle and the other northern strengths speedily followed; and it is interesting to note that among the bold barons who helped to

1 Buchanan.

bring about this result was Simon Fraser, the first of his name who settled in the district of Loch Ness.

Among the Scots who had espoused the cause of Edward, and for a time refused to desert him, the most renowned was Bruce's nephew, Thomas Randolph. That young soldier was, however, captured by Sir James Douglas and persuaded to join his uncle; and he thereafter served with such valour and fidelity that in 1313 he was created Earl of Moray, and received a grant of that province, including Urquhart and Glenmoriston. And thus it was, as we have seen, that Bruce was unable to restore the Castle lands to young Alexander Forbes on his return from Ireland. Although the terms of Randolph's charter were comprehensive enough to convey the Castle to him, it was during his lifetime garrisoned and provisioned by the King; and after his death it was expressly reserved from the grants of the Earldom to his successors.

Randolph, having visited his new northern territory, returned to Bruce with a following of Highland vassals and retainers,[1] who soon had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves on the field of Bannockburn, where their young leader commanded the centre of the Scottish army. In that army, says Holingshed, were three thousand fierce and forward Irish Scots called Katerans or Redshanks—an apt enough description of the impetuous and kilted Gaels who followed Randolph in his exploits in England and the south of Scotland, and to whom

1 Burns' War of Independence, II., 290.

Bruce himself entrusted such desperate work as the driving of the English from the heights of Biland in Yorkshire.[1]

Bruce died in 1329, leaving the crown to his infant son David, and having appointed Randolph regent during the boy's minority. The wars which filled the great King's reign prevented his giving that attention to the internal affairs of the country which they required, and at the time of his death bloodshed and thieving and general lawlessness prevailed. The Regent at once set himself to rectify the evils. He made a progress through the country, "dispensing justice even to Inverness,"[2] and discharging his duties with a wise severity before which crime speedily disappeared. Even the decrees of the all-powerful Roman Pontiff failed to turn him aside from strict and impartial justice. A certain person who slew a priest having fled to Rome, procured papal absolution, and then returned. Randolph heard of the man's arrival as he was holding a court at Inverness, and caused him to be brought before him on the charge of murder. The accused pleaded the Pope's absolution. "The Pope," replied the Regent, "may absolve you from the spiritual consequences of the sin, but for the crime which you have committed against the law of this land I am your judge"—and he ordered him off to instant execution.[3] The means he adopted to repress robbery were peculiar. "Aware," says Tytler, "of

1 Tytler, I., c. iv. Barbour's Bruce (Spalding Club), 433.
2 Scotichronicon, Lib. XIII., c. xviii. 3 Tytler, I., c. v.

the important influence of the local magistrates and judges, he made every sheriff responsible for the thefts committed within his jurisdiction; so that, according to the simple illustrations of the chronicles of those times, the traveller might tie his horse to the inn door, and the ploughman leave his ploughshare and harness in the field, without fear; for, if carried away, the price of the stolen article came out of the pocket of the sheriff."[1]

But all too short was the Earl's career as judge and administrator. John Baliol was dead, and his son, Edward, resolved to fight for his father's crown. Accompanied by a number of English barons and their retainers, and encouraged by certain disaffected Scotsmen, he, in 1332, sailed from the mouth of the Humber for Scotland. Randolph put himself at the head of an army, and prepared to meet the invaders; but at Musselburgh he was poisoned by an infamous friar whom his unscrupulous enemies had hired for the purpose. His estates and title fell to his eldest son, Thomas—a brave youth who was killed a few months later on the fatal field of Dupplin. Thomas was succeeded by John, the Regent's second son, who worthily maintained the honour of his name. After the battle of Dupplin, where the Scots were defeated, Baliol pressed on to Scone, and was crowned King; but the great bulk of the nation, inspired by Sir Andrew Moray,[2] who had succeeded Randolph as Regent,

[1] Tytler, I., c. v.

[2] Son of the Andrew Moray who was in Urquhart in 1297, and who was killed at the Battle of Stirling in that year.

stood by the son of Bruce, and, before the end of the year, young John Randolph suddenly swooped down with a body of horse on Baliol's camp at Annan, slew his principal supporters, and chased himself half-naked over the English Border.

Edward the Third of England, who had hitherto contented himself with giving secret encouragement to Baliol, now resolved to assist him openly. Invading Scotland with a large army, he was victorious at the battle of Halidon Hill, in July, 1333. Of the four divisions into which the Scottish army was on that day divided, one was led by John Randolph, assisted by Simon Fraser of Lovat, and another by the Earl of Ross. Lovat and Ross fell. Randolph escaped to France, where he remained until the following year.

The immediate result of the disaster at Halidon Hill was the almost entire submission of Scotland to Baliol. Five, however, of the principal fortresses still refused to open their gates to him; and, as of old, Urquhart was found among the faithful few.[1] That stronghold had been well maintained by Bruce and the Regent Randolph,[2] and, at the time at which we have now arrived, Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, son of Lauder of the Bass, was its Constable. He also held the important office of Justiciar of the North. He and his northern retainers were present at Halidon Hill, and hurried home

1 Boece, II., 424; Hailes' Annals. The other castles were Dumbarton, Lochleven, Kildrummie, and Lochmaben.

2 It was provisioned in 1332 "by order of the King." (Exchequer Rolls, I., 418).

immediately after the battle, determined to defend the Castle against the invaders. Next year (1334), the English forces appeared before it; but the Constable was prepared for them, and they were successfully resisted until Sir Andrew Moray, John Randolph, and the Steward of Scotland arrested Baliol's progress, and drove him once more across the Border.

Edward the Third, chafing under this reverse, again led an army into Scotland, and penetrated as far as Inverness. John Randolph stoutly resisted, but, in 1335, his army was defeated at Jedburgh, and he himself taken prisoner and sent to England, where he was confined, first in the Castle of Bamborough, afterwards in the Tower of London, and subsequently in Windsor Castle, until 1341, when he was released through the mediation of the King of France, and exchanged for the Earl of Salisbury, who was a prisoner with the French.[1] Notwithstanding these crushing calamities, Lauder continued loyal to King David, and, although Baliol and the English devastated the surrounding country with fire and sword, the Castle does not appear to have fallen into their hands. Before long Baliol was finally expelled from Scotland; and, after some years of desultory warfare, peace was concluded between England and Scotland.

In Sir Robert Lauder the Church had a warm friend and a powerful protector; and, in consideration of his many services to her, and of an annual

1 Hailes' Annals; Tytler, I., c. v.

feu-duty of four merks sterling, he, in 1334, received a grant from John Pilmore, Bishop of Moray, of "the half davach of our land of Aberbreachy [Abriachan], lying between the barony of Bonach [Bona] on the east, on the one side, and the barony of Urchard on the west, on the other side; with our lands of Auchmunie, lying between the land of Drumbuy on the east, on the one side, and the land of Cartaly on the west, on the other side, within the barony of Urchard aforesaid."[1] These estates of Abriachan and Achmonie had long been the property of the Church.

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Within the old walls of his Castle Sir Robert Lauder entertained right royally. Among the guests who were met together there on 4th July, 1342, were William, Earl of Ross; Reginald, son of Roderick of the Isles; the Bishop of Moray; the Bishop of Ross; Sir James de Kerdalé; Sir William de Mowbray; Sir Thomas de Lichtoun, Canon of Moray; John de Berclay; Adam de Urquhart; John Yong de Dingwall; "and many others, clergymen and laymen"[2]—a goodly company truly. These all witnessed a charter by the Earl to Reginald, of the lands of Kintail, as a reward for his services. But in those times the course of friendship was liable to be interrupted, and in 1346 the Earl assassinated Reginald within the Monastery of Elcho.[3]

1 Reg. Morav., 155. 2 Supplement to Acts of Parl. of Scot. 7.
3 Tytler, I., c. v.; Gregory's Highlands, 27.

Lauder's only daughter, Anne, who was married to a member of the family of Chisholm, in Roxburghshire,[1] had a son who appears to have lived with his grandfather in Urquhart from his youth, and who became well known in the North as Sir Robert Chisholm. In 1345 the young man received from John Randolph a grant of "two davachs of land within our [Randolph's] barony of Urchard, videlicit, the one half davach of Innermorchen [Invermoriston]; the quarter davach of Blare [Blarie]; and the quarter davach of Lochletare; the three-quarter davach of Inchebrene, and the quarter of Dulschangy."[2] These lands were the first Highland possessions of the family of Chisholm, and it is interesting to note that during the course of five centuries their names have scarcely undergone a change.

In 1346, when Edward the Third was busy with the siege of Calais, King David, who had now reached manhood, invaded England with a large army, in which were John Randolph and Sir Robert Chisholm, and wasted the diocese of Durham; but the expedition ended disastrously at the battle of Neville's Cross, where Randolph, who commanded the right wing, was slain. Chisholm was taken prisoner along with the King, and probably did not regain his liberty till His Majesty's release in 1357—for we do not again meet his name till 1359, when

1 By some her husband is called Robert; by others John. The latter is probably the correct name. His son was called Robert, after Sir Robert Lauder.

2 Family of Innes (Spalding Club), 59.

he became Constable of the Castle in succession to his grandfather. The old Constable survived for a few years. On 1st May, 1362, he founded a chaplainry in the Cathedral Church of Moray, at the altar of St Peter, for his own soul and the souls of his ancestors, and particularly for the soul of Hugh, Earl of Ross.[1] And with this pious deed Lauder the Good[2] vanishes from our view—as true a patriot and as brave a knight as ever fought in Scotland's cause.

1 Reg. Morav., 309.

2 The author of the 15th century chronicle known as *Liber Pluscardensis*, in referring to the five castles which refused to surrender to Baliol, gives "Castrum eciam de Urquhart, cujus custodiam habuit dominus Thomas de Lawder, qui *Bonus* vocatus est." The chronicler, however, errs in calling Lauder *Thomas*.

CHAPTER III

1346—1455

The Barony of Urquhart reverts to the Crown.—Is granted to the Earl of Sutherland.—Acquired by the Earl of Stratherne.—Sir Robert Chisholm.—His Urquhart Possessions go to the Wolf of Badenoch.—Stratherne lets the Barony to the Wolf.—The Wolf withholds the Rent.—A Royal Quarrel.—Appeal to the King.—The Wolf and the Bishop.—The Burning of Elgin Cathedral.—Thomas Chisholm.—The Wolf's Death.—Scramble for his Possessions.—Urquhart seized by Donald of the Isles.—Charles Maclean.—Parliament deals with the Castle.—The Red Harlaw.—The Barony possessed by the Earl of Mar.—Claimed by the Duke of Albany.—A Compromise.—The Castle repaired by the King.—Death of Mar.—The Lord of the Isles seizes the Barony.—Hector Buie Maclean's Exploits.—The Tragedy of Caisteal Spioradan.—Ogilvy of Balfour holds the Castle for the King.—The Castle taken by John of the Isles.—No Rent.—Parliament annexes the Barony and Castle to the Crown.

The succession to the Earldom of Moray was limited by Bruce's charter to Thomas Randolph and the heirs male of his body. His sons, who both fell in battle, left no issue, and accordingly the province, including Urquhart and Glenmoriston, reverted to the Crown on the death of John Randolph in 1346. The other Randolph estates went to the Regent's daughter, "Black Agnes," famous in Scottish song and story as the indomitable defender of the Castle of Dunbar

against the English. Her husband, the Earl of Dunbar, assumed the title of Earl of Moray, and, although his right to the Earldom was never formally acknowledged, he was probably allowed to reap some of the advantages that flowed from its possession in the days of the Randolphs. The Castle and Barony of Urquhart appear, however, to have been retained in the King's hands; and, when the Earldom was granted by Robert the Second to Agnes' son, John Dunbar, they were excepted from the grant.[1]

King David had no child to succeed him, and his nephew, Robert, the Steward of Scotland, was heir to the throne, in terms of a settlement solemnly ratified by Parliament. But the relations between the King and the Steward were not of a friendly nature, and His Majesty entertained thoughts of bestowing the crown on another nephew—John, son of the Earl of Sutherland by Margaret, daughter of Robert the Bruce. The voice of the nation was, however, for the Steward, and, with the view of strengthening the Sutherland interest, the King bestowed various estates on the Earl and his son, among them being the Barony and Castle of Urquhart, which were conveyed to them by charter dated the last day of February,

1 Reg. Mag. Sig., 119. The original Barony of Urquhart was erected in the days of the first Randolph, and included Glenmoriston. It was erected into a Lordship in the 15th century. In 1509 three new baronies were created, viz., Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and Corrimony. Achmonie was included in the ecclesiastical Barony of Spynie, erected in 1451, and subsequently in the smaller Barony of Kinmylies, in the Regality of Spynie.

1359.[1] John's death, of the plague, in 1361, put an end to these schemes, and on the Earl's death in 1370, the Castle and Barony again became Crown property.

David, whose reign was not a happy one for Scotland, died in February, 1370, and the Steward ascended the throne as Robert the Second. On 19th June following he granted the Castle and Barony to his son, David, Earl of Stratherne, and the heirs of his body, and, failing such heirs, to another son, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, and the heirs of his body.[2] Although the Castle was not expressly reserved from this grant, Sir Robert Chisholm, who, as we saw in our last chapter, became Constable in 1359, continued to hold it for the Crown, and his annual salary of £40 was paid out of the Royal Exchequer.[3]

Chisholm early acquired great influence. He was proprietor of Invermoriston, Blarie, Lochletter, Inchbrine, and Dulshangie, in our Parish; he held Achmonie in feu from the Bishop; and he had extensive estates in Morayshire and the neighbourhood of Nairn and Inverness. He was Sheriff of Inverness, and Justiciar of the regality of Moray; and, like his grandfather, Sir Robert Lauder, he held the still more important office of Justiciar of the North. Like Lauder, too, he was liberal to the Church; and

1 See Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, 51-53; Additional Case for Elizabeth claiming the Title and Dignity of Sutherland, p. 11, where Gordon is corrected on certain points; Robertson's Index to Charters, 49.

2 Reg. Mag. Sig., 85.

3 Exchequer Rolls, II., 143, 187.

he it was who first bestowed on it the lands of Direbught, which are now the property of the Kirk Session of Inverness. "Since it is known to all that all flesh returns into dust," says he in his deed of gift, "and that there is nothing after death except Him who is the true safety, and who redeemed the human race on the cross, therefore I make it known to all by these presents that I have given, granted, and, by this my present charter, confirmed, for the salvation of my soul, and of the souls of my successors and predecessors, and of all the faithful, six acres of arable land lying within the territory of the Old Castle, in the lower plain thereof . . . for making an increase of divine worship for ever to the Altar of the Holy Rood of Inverness."[1] But, pious though he was, he could resist the claims of the Church when occasion demanded. Among the gifts of the early kings to the Priory of Pluscardyn was the mill of Elgin, to which certain lands were "thirled," or attached, to the effect that the owners of the mill could insist on grinding the corn grown on them, and exacting the "multures," or miller's portions of meal and flour, which were then a source of considerable revenue. Sir Robert's Morayshire estate of Quarrelwood was thirled to the mill of Elgin. When the mill was acquired by the Priory, that

1 Invernessiana, 62. One of the witnesses to this deed, which is dated 1362, and is preserved in the archives of the Burgh of Inverness, is Weland Shislach—perhaps the first appearance in the Chisholm family of the Christian name Wiland, or Valentine, or, in Gaelic, *Ualain*, which subsequently became so common in Strathglass Shislach (Siosalach, or Siosal) is still the Gaelic name of Chisholm.

property was to a large extent, if not wholly, in a state of nature. But it was subsequently brought under cultivation, and thereupon the Prior demanded the multures. For a time Sir Robert appears to have paid them, but he ultimately refused, on the ground that when the gift was made no grain grew on the estate, and that the thirlage could not comprehend land subsequently brought under cultivation. The Prior, determined to enjoy the disputed multures without coming into unpleasant personal contact with the Knight of Quarrelwood, let them on lease to a certain husbandman of Findrossie; but when the man attempted to collect them he was seized by Sir Robert and cast into a private prison. The matter was now brought into the civil courts, and Sir Archibald Douglas and John de Hay, Sheriff of Inverness, decided it in Chisholm's favour. But the Bishop of Moray, who took up the cause of the Prior, addressed a petition to Sir Archibald, craving a recall of the judgment, arguing that the case did not come within the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates, but fell to be decided in the ecclesiastical courts, and concluding with a threat to excommunicate the civil judges if they attempted anything further by which the Prior might be wronged, or the jurisdiction of the Church encroached on.[1] The threat of excommunication had the desired effect. At a court held by the Bishop, in January, 1370, the Prior's pleas were sustained, and Sir Robert bound himself to pay the dues for the future.[2]

1 Reg. Morav., 168.
2 Macphail's Religious House of Pluscardyn, 78.

Sir Robert's daughter, Joneta, or Janet, became the wife of Hugh Rose of Kilravock. Their contract of marriage, which was executed on Thursday, 2nd January, 1364, within the church of Auldearn and in the presence of the Bishops of Moray and Ross, and William, Earl of Ross and Lord of Skye, is an interesting document. Kilravock, in the usual manner, binds himself to solemnise the marriage in face of Holy Church. Sir Robert, on the other hand, undertakes to make over to him and the issue of the marriage, the lands of Cantrabundie, with their pertinents, within Strathnairn; and among the other clauses of the deed is one providing "that from the day of the celebration of the marriage the said Sir Robert shall keep and maintain his said daughter for three whole years in meat and drink; but the said Hugh shall find and keep her in all necessary garments and ornaments"—a strange compact, when we consider the high degree of the parties to it.[1] The marriage of the young people duly followed, and their descendants still enjoy the ancient Barony of Kilravock. Of Sir Robert's sons one, Alexander, married Margaret of the Aird, heiress of Erchless, and became the founder of the family of Strathglass.

As the Constable advanced in years he relinquished his possessions in Urquhart. The lands of Invermoriston, Blarie, Inchbrine, Lochletter, and Dulshangie, which he acquired from John Randolph, were resigned into the hands of the King, who

[1] See the Contract, in Family of Kilravock (Spalding Club), 36.

granted them, about the year 1384, to his son, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, for an annual duty of one silver penny, payable within the Castle of Urquhart.[1] And in 1386 he surrendered the lands of Abriachan, Achmonie, and Kilmichael, which he held of the Church, to Bishop Bur,[2] by whom they were in the same year granted to Buchan for a yearly feu-duty of four merks sterling.[3] Sir Robert, having thus given up all his lands in the Parish, resigned the post of Keeper of the Castle before 1390, when we find his grandson, Thomas Chisholm, son of Alexander Chisholm and Margaret of the Aird, holding the office, with a salary paid out of the Royal Exchequer.[4] The old Constable soon afterwards died, leaving behind him a reputation for honesty of purpose and uprightness in judgment second only to that of the great Randolph.

The Earl of Buchan, who was now owner of Chisholm's lands in the Parish, obtained from his brother, the Earl of Stratherne, a lease of the remainder of the Barony. But he would neither pay the stipulated rent nor surrender the lease; and in April, 1385, Stratherne appeared before the King in Council and complained that Buchan retained violent possession of the Barony. The King advised the brothers to agree, and the matter was remitted to His Majesty's other children for amicable settle-

1 Reg. Mag. Sig., 176.
2 Antiquities of Aberdeen (Spalding Club), IV., 376.
3 Reg. Morav., 196. 4 Exchequer Rolls, III., 274.

ment.[1] Buchan, however, continued in possession; and, as he had by this time entered on a career of lawlessness which won for him the name of the Wolf of Badenoch, the probability is that he also continued to withhold the rents.

With the view of increasing his territorial influence in the Highlands, the Wolf married the widowed Eufamia, Countess of Ross; but her place in his heart and household was usurped by one Mariota, daughter of Athyn, and his cruelty to the injured wife drove her from under his roof. For redress she appealed to the Bishops of Moray and Ross, who, after hearing the statements of both parties, gave judgment on 2nd November, 1389, within the church of the Preaching Friars in Inverness, restoring her to her rights and status. Her husband was ordained to send away Mariota, and to adhere to his lawful wife, and treat her honourably and with matrimonial affection, at bed and board, and in food and raiment, and all other things to which her high station entitled her, and to find sureties that she should be properly treated, "without the fear of death, and that he should not in any way surround her with his followers, slaves, nobles, and others, contrary to common law." Buchan, who was present, formally acquiesced in the decision, and gave as his sureties the Earl of Sutherland, Alexander Moray of Culbin, and Thomas Chisholm, Constable of Urquhart Castle; and these "great and notable persons," being also

1 Acts of Parl., I., 189.

in attendance, undertook to pay to the Bishops a penalty of £200 as often as he contravened the terms of the judgment.[1]

But his acquiescence was a mere pretence, and neither the Bishops' decree nor the risk of pecuniary loss to his friends gave him any concern. He not only failed to dismiss Mariota and act honourably towards his wife, but, conceiving a spirit of revenge against the Bishop of Moray, who had especially befriended her, he laid violent hands on the possessions of the Church within the province. The Bishop retaliated by pronouncing against him the dread sentence of excommunication. That step only added fuel to the flame of his fury, and, in May, 1390—the very month in which his royal father died—he suddenly swooped down on Forres with his retainers, and laid the town and its ecclesiastical buildings in ashes. Still continuing his sacrilegious progress, he in the following month set fire to "the whole town of Elgin, and the church of St Giles therein, and the House of God, near Elgin, eighteen noble and ornate mansions belonging to the canons and chaplains, and"—sadly adds the chronicler of the event—"what must be more bitterly deplored, the noble and beautiful Cathedral of Moray, the mirror of our country, and the honour of our kingdom, with all the books, charters, and other valuable things of the country, therein kept for security."[2] These enormities were greater than even Alasdair Mor

[1] Reg. Morav., 353. [2] Reg. Morav., 381.

Mac an Righ,[1] as his Highlanders delighted to call him, could perpetrate with impunity. The vigorous prosecution of the Church, and the temporal inconveniences that followed the sentence of excommunication, soon brought him to his knees; and, within the church of the Black Friars in Perth, and in presence of his brother, Robert the Third, and many of the nobility, he did abject penance, and bound himself to make what reparation he could to the Bishop and See of Moray. He was thereafter absolved by the Bishop of St Andrews, and lived a better and more peaceful life till his death, in July, 1394. He left no lawful issue, and was pre-deceased by his brother, the Earl of Stratherne, whose only child was a daughter. During his retention of the Barony of Urquhart his friend Thomas Chisholm held the Castle for the Crown, and for the "keeping and munition" of it was paid out of the King's Exchequer at the rate of £14 Scots a month.[2] Thomas succeeded to his mother's possessions in the Aird and Strathglass, which, on his death without issue, fell to his brother Alexander.

The death of the Wolf of Badenoch was the signal for a great scramble for his extensive possessions. His natural sons, Alexander and Duncan, seized some of them, and for a time kept both Highlands and Lowlands in terror; while the Earldom of Ross, which he had enjoyed in right

1 Great Alexander, Son of the King.

2 The following payments to him appear in the Exchequer Rolls:—£56 and £42 in the account for 1390-1, £26 13s 4d in the account for 1391-2, and £33 6s 8d in the account for 1394-5.

of his wife, and the limits of which had by this time been extended so as to embrace Urquhart and Glenmoriston, was claimed by Donald, Lord of the Isles, as in right of his wife, Margaret Leslie,[1] daughter of the late Countess, by her first husband, Walter Leslie. Donald's claim was resisted by the grasping and unscrupulous Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, who obtained a title to it in favour of his own son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan.[2] The Island Chief was not in the humour to argue, and he promptly appealed to the sword, with the result that before the September following the Wolf's death Urquhart and the Valley of the Ness were in the hands of his brother, Alexander of Keppoch, the renowned *Alasdair Carrach* of Gaelic legend and song. This vigorous action alarmed the Earl of Moray, who prudently bowed to the might of Keppoch, and, by formal treaty, entered into on 25th September, placed the lands and possessions of the Regality of Moray, and the church lands within the province, under his protection for a period of seven years.[3] Keppoch, true to his character as described by his Gaelic name—Alexander the Crafty—soon construed this protectorate into a right of ownership, and proceeded to gift the church lands of Kinmylies to

1 Called Mary by Gregory, but Margaret in Family of Leslie, I., 75.

2 Eufamia, the Wolf's Countess, was succeeded by Alexander, her son by her first husband. Alexander married Isabel Stewart, daughter of the Regent, and had by her a daughter, Euphemia. On his death the child was induced by her grandfather, the Regent, to resign her rights in favour of her uncle, the Earl of Buchan. She subsequently took the veil.

3 Reg. Morav., 354.

certain of his supporters;[1] while to his faithful follower from the West, Charles Maclean, a son of Hector of Lochbuy, he gave the keeping of the Castle of Urquhart and the possession of certain lands in our Parish,[2] including probably the estate of Achmonie, which had reverted to the Bishop on the Wolf's death and was now embraced by his protectorate. These were serious transactions for the Crown; and in 1398 Parliament made a feeble attempt to put matters right by passing an Act placing the Castle in the hands of the King, "who shall entrust the keeping of it to worthy captains until the Kingdom be pacified, when it shall be restored to its owners."[3] To place this enactment on the statute-book was easy enough; to carry its provisions into immediate effect was more than the Crown was able to do; and Charles continued master of the fortress until the career of the Lord of the Isles was checked on the field of Harlaw. By his marriage with a daughter of Cumming of Dulshangie,[4] he acquired influence among her people, and it was doubtless under his leadership that a number of the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston entered on an expedition to the West Coast in support of Donald of the Isles in his war with his brother, John Mor of Islay. On the approach of Donald's forces John fled to Galloway, whither he was followed; but no serious fighting took

1 Reg. Morav., 211.
2 Invernessiana, 97-100; Seanachie's Account of Clan Maclean, 243.
3 Acts of Parl., I., 571.
4 Seanachie's Account of Clan Maclean, 244.

place, and peace was soon restored between the brothers.[1]

The Regent Albany still pressed his claim to the Earldom of Ross, and, in 1411, the exasperated Lord of the Isles resolved to put an end to his pretensions, and to bring the whole of Scotland under his own sway. Gathering an army of ten thousand men at Inverness—in the ranks of which were Alasdair Carrach and Maclean of Lochbuy, and, it may be assumed, his son Charles, with the men of Urquhart —he led it toward the Lowlands, bent on placing the crown of the Stewârts on his own head. But at Harlaw, in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire, he was met by a resolute host under the command of the Wolf of Badenoch's son Alexander, who, by forcibly marrying the widowed Countess of Mar and obtaining a grant of her title and estates, had now become a powerful noble. The leaders of the opposing forces were relations by blood and marriage but deadly enemies by circumstances, and their meeting on the Red Harlaw was one of the bloodiest events in Scottish history. The fierce stubbornness of the contending hosts resulted in a drawn battle; but, as sometimes happened on similar occasions in after years, the Highlanders of the West were discouraged by their failure to carry all before them, and Donald returned to the Isles, leaving the disputed territories open to his opponents. Mar seized Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and refused to

[1] Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, 303; The Macdonells of Antrim.

give them up to his uncle Albany, who still persisted in his claim. The dispute continued during the Regent's lifetime; but after his death his son Murdoch entered into an indenture with Mar, giving that nobleman the "profitis," or revenues, of the lands, "till the tyme that thay may be sett to profitt," and binding him to let them to the best advantage with all speed, and without fraud or guile; after which Duke Murdoch was to have one-half of the rents, while Mar was to get the other half during his lifetime.[1] About the same time Donald of the Isles died, leaving his possessions and his claims to his son Alexander.[2]

How far Mar respected the terms of the treaty is uncertain, but if Albany ever enjoyed his share of the rents—and it is not probable that he did—it must have been for a very short period. In 1424 James the First returned from his long captivity in England, and immediately set himself to curb the power of his turbulent nobles. Among the first he took in hand were Duke Murdoch and his two sons, who were all arrested at Perth, and, in May, 1425, put on trial before a jury on which sat the interested Earl of Mar. What the charge against them was does not appear quite clear; but "guilty" was the verdict, and father and sons were executed on the Heading Hill of Stirling.[3]

1 See the Indenture, dated 16th Nov., 1420, in Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff (Spalding Club), IV., 181.

2 Gregory's Western Highlands, 33.

3 Tytler, II., c. ii.; Burton, II., 402.

Turning his attention to the North, the King next convoked a Parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and some fifty other Highland chiefs and leaders. They obeyed the call without hesitation or suspicion; but as soon as they were within the building in which the assembly sat, they were seized and manacled and thrown into dungeons, while James watched the proceedings and exhibited signs of intense joy at the success of his unkingly trick. Some were at once handed over to the executioner. Others were kept in prison. Alexander, on making due submission, was set at liberty. But the King's perfidy rankled in his breast, and, setting at nought the promise extorted from him in his captivity, he ravaged the Crown lands about Inverness, and gave the town itself to the flames. James in person led a large army against him, and he surrendered and was imprisoned in Tantallon Castle. But his cause was taken up by Donald Balloch and Alasdair Carrach, who encountered at Inverlochy the royal forces under the Earls of Mar and Caithness, and defeated them with great slaughter. Caithness died on the field. Mar, severely wounded, wandered among the mountains for a time, and was saved from starvation by a herd-woman who gave him barley-meal and water mixed in his shoe. His hunger having thus been appeased, the Earl turned bard and gave expression to his gratitude in poetic Gaelic :—

"Is math an cocair an t-acras,
'S mairg a ni tarcuis air biadh—

Fuarag eorn' a sàil mo bhroige,
Biadh a b' fhearr a fhuair mi riamh." [1]

During these troubles the state of our Parish must have been miserable indeed. Mar doubtless claimed the service of the tenantry in the King's cause; while the sympathies of the Macleans, and probably of the majority of the people, were with the Lord of the Isles. What actual support was given to either side it is impossible to say; but the Castle appears to have been held for the King, by whom it was repaired in the year 1428-9 at a cost of 40s.[2]

The Earl of Mar died in July, 1435, greatly lamented throughout Scotland; and Urquhart and Glenmoriston again reverted to the Crown. But the King's assassination a few months later enabled Alexander of the Isles, who had already succeeded to the Earldom of Ross,[3] to take possession of them without opposition, and to place them under the charge of old Charles Maclean's son, Hector Buie, as his own seneschal or chamberlain.[4] Hector, who

1 Transactions of Iona Club. The lines are thus translated in Sheriff Nicolson's Gaelic Proverbs:—

"Hunger is a cook right good,
Woe to him who sneers at food—
Barley crowdie in my shoe,
The sweetest food I ever knew."

The lines have also been attributed to Robert the Bruce. (Lord Archibald Campbell's Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, I., 77).

2 Exchequer Rolls, IV., 498.

3 Alexander succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his mother on whom it was conferred by James I. after the death of John, Earl of Buchan, in 1424.

4 Family of Kilravock, 131.

had thus become all-powerful in the Parish, was ready to protect his people's property when occasion demanded. In his time, and for centuries thereafter, the large herds reared on the pasture lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were an irresistible temptation to the cattle-lifting hordes of Lochaber and the West, who deemed it fair sport to periodically "spuilzie" the Parish. Hector resolved to retaliate. Leading a band of Urquhart men into Lochiel's country during the chief's absence in Ireland, he slew and plundered without mercy. "Recalled by the groans of the people," Lochiel hastened home; and Maclean, wishing to avoid a pitched battle, retired along the Great Glen, taking with him Somhairle Cameron of Glen-Nevis and many other captives. Proceeding, probably, along the southern shore of Loch Ness, he shut himself up within the old Castle of Bona which stood at the east end of the Loch, and the ruins of which were almost entirely removed during the construction of the Caledonian Canal; and there he awaited Lochiel, who was in hot pursuit with the Western clans. When the Camerons approached Hector welcomed them with a threat to kill the captives. But by this time two of his own sons and certain of his followers had fallen into Lochiel's hands, and that chief, anxious to save the lives of his kindred, offered to exchange prisoners. Maclean declined the offer and carried his threat into execution—whereupon his sons and the other Urquhart men were hanged before his eyes by the

exasperated Camerons.[1] These atrocities gave rise to the belief that the restless spirits of the victims haunted the old fortress, which has ever since borne the name of Caisteal Spioradan.

Hector is said to have been killed at Bona, but whether at this time or on a subsequent occasion is not clear. He held the lands of Urquhart for behoof of the Lord of the Isles, but he does not appear ever to have got possession of the Castle. On the contrary, after the Red Harlaw "worthy captains" continued to hold it for the King in terms of the Act of 1398; and it was garrisoned and kept in repair at the expense of the Crown. The money expended on it in 1428-9 has already been referred to. In 1448, and probably for some time previously, Thomas Ogilvy of Balfour was captain of it, as well as of the Castle of Inverness; and he continued in that office until expelled by John of the Isles in 1452.[2] With both fortresses in his care, he sometimes had to appoint deputies. An account rendered in Exchequer by Andrew Rede, collector *(custumarius)* of the great custom of the burgh of Inverness, shows that that official kept Urquhart Castle for a time, between 4th July, 1447, and 12th September, 1448, during which he disbursed £21 12s 4d as the expenses of himself and of divers others who were with him in the Castle for forty days and more, keeping the same, including the cost of new buildings and of

1 Memoirs of Lochiel.
2 Exchequer Rolls, V., 380, 405, 421, 441.

repairing the old buildings of the Castles of Inverness and Urquhart, "before the arrival of the King at Inverness."[1] For his services Ogilvy was paid by the Crown. Between September, 1448, and July, 1450, he received the sums of £36 5s 9d and £7 12s; and the further sums of £31 18s 7d and £40 12s between the latter month and July, 1451.[2] Between September, 1448, and July, 1450, William, Thane of Cawdor, supplied him with corn for his garrisons.[3]

Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, died in 1449, leaving Urquhart and Glenmoriston and his other extensive possessions to his son John, a high-spirited lad of fifteen. The King—James the Second—had the right as his feudal overlord of choosing a wife for the young Earl, and he selected a daughter of Sir James Livingston, younger of Callander, promising a suitable fortune with her. The marriage took place; but the disgrace and attainder of Livingston soon followed, and the King failed to pay the tocher. John thereupon proceeded to recover it in his own way—he seized the Castles of Inverness and Urquhart, penetrated into Badenoch, and gave the old stronghold of Ruthven to the flames. By this time Livingston had made his peace with the King; but on hearing of these events he escaped from Holyrood to the Highlands, and joined his son-in-law, who appointed him Constable of Urquhart Castle. The King,

1 Exchequer Rolls, V., 313. 2 Exchequer Rolls.
3 Thanes of Cawdor (Spalding Club), 15.

conscious of his own fault, and having his hands pretty full in connection with the Douglas rebellion which then raged in the South, quietly condoned these high-handed proceedings. Not only was Livingston allowed to keep the Castle, but his remuneration was paid out of the Royal exchequer; and when, in 1454, he resigned his charge, he was re-appointed Great Chamberlain, an office which he had held at the time of his forfeiture.[1] The young Earl, too, continued in possession of the Lordship of Urquhart, including Glenmoriston; and in an account rendered by Sir Alexander Young, King's Chamberlain benorth the Dee, on 15th July, 1454, and covering the period from 6th August, 1453, to that date, it is explained that, although the Lordship is the property of the King, the rents, which are of the value of £100 per annum, have not been collected, because the lands are in the hands of the Earl. From the same account we learn that the King was to be consulted with reference to the course to be taken in regard to these lands, and a similar entry occurs in the account ending 31st July, 1455.[2] The question was difficult to solve, but an attempt was made, and in August, 1455, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which "forsamekill as the poverte of the Crowne is oftymis the caus of the poverte of the Realme and mony other inconvenients the quhilk war lang to expreyme," certain "lordschippis and castillys," including the houses of

1 Exchequer Rolls, V., xcii., and VI., cliii.; Tytler, II., c. iii.; Gregory, 43.

2 Exchequer Rolls, V., 655, and VI., 68.

Inverness and Urquhart, and the lordships of them, and the Barony of Urquhart, were "annext to the Crown perpetualy to remane, the quhilk may not be giffyn away nother in fee nor in franktenement, till ony persone of quhat estate or degree that ever he be, but [that is, *without*] avys, deliverance, and decret of the haill parliament, ande for gret seande and resonable caus of the Realme."[1]

1 Acts of Parl., II., 42.

CHAPTER IV

1455—1509

The Lordship of Urquhart granted to the Lord of the Isles for Life.—He and his Highlanders in England.—His Rebellion and Attainder.—The Earl of Huntly in charge of the Lordship and Castle.—The Macleans claim Urquhart.—Their Position and Power.—A Thirty Years' War.—The Lordship let to the Baron of Kilravock.—Opposition to him.—Arbitration.—Bonds of Friendship.—Strange League against the Baron.—He throws up his Lease.—The Parish Waste.—Sir Duncan Grant to the Rescue.—His connection with the District.—The Conflict of Foyers.—The Red Bard in Urquhart.—Struggle for the Lordship.—Lease to the Bard.—The Bard King's Chamberlain.—He trades with the King.—The Lordship granted to Himself and his Sons absolutely.—The reasons for the Grants.

The object of Parliament in placing on the statute-book the Act which closes our last chapter was to annex inalienably to the Crown the Castle and Lordship of Urquhart and the other royal properties with which it dealt. But John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, was not the man to relinquish his possession of Urquhart in obedience to mere parliamentary enactments, and his great power rendered it inexpedient for the Crown to resort to stronger measures. It therefore made a virtue of necessity; and almost before the ink was dry on the statute-book the Act was disregarded, and the Castle and

Lordship were formally granted to him for his life at the old rent of £100 per annum.[1] He was pleased and gratified with this show of royal favour, and for a time the rent was regularly paid.[2] Moreover, his loyalty equalled his gratitude; and when in 1460 James the Second entered on his war with England, he joined the royal army at Roxburgh "with a great company all armed in the Highland fashion, with habergeons, bows, and axes, and promised to the King, if he pleased to pass any further in the bounds of England, that he and his company should pass a large mile afore the rest of the host, and take upon them the first press and dint of the battle."[3]

His Majesty, we are told, rejoiced much that the Earl "was so ready to hazard himself and friends for defence of the King, and honour of the Commonwealth;[4] but although he and his followers did good service in the congenial work of harrying the North of England, the King's death, on 3rd August, through the bursting of a cannon, put a stop to the invasion, and he had no opportunity of proving his own zeal and the bravery of his Celts. The King's untimely death also cooled the Earl's attachment to the Royal line, and roused fresh ambitions within his own restless bosom. For a time he kept his plans to himself and was outwardly loyal to the infant King,

1 Thanes of Cawdor, 25.

2 Ibid, 25, 27, 29; Exchequer Rolls.

3 Lindsay of Pitscottie, 2nd Ed., 119, where the Earl is erroneously called "Donald."

4 Ibid.

James the Third. With other Highland chiefs he attended a Parliament in Edinburgh early in 1461; but before the close of the year he was in treasonable correspondence with Edward the Fourth of England and the banished Earl of Douglas, which culminated in one of the most remarkable treaties to which an English sovereign has ever been a party. "The basis of it," says Gregory,[1] "was nothing less than the contemplated conquest of Scotland by the vassals of Ross and the auxiliaries to be furnished by Edward, with such assistance as the Earl of Douglas might be able to give. The Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and John, the son and heir of Donald, agreed, upon the payment to each of a stipulated sum of money, to become for ever the sworn vassals of England, along with all their retainers, and to assist Edward in his wars in Ireland, as well as elsewhere. In the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland by the Earls of Ross and Douglas, the whole of the kingdom to the north of the Forth was to be divided equally between the two Earls and Donald Balloch; whilst Douglas was to be restored to the possession of those estates between the Forth and the Borders of England from which he was now excluded; and, upon such partition and restoration being carried into effect, the salaries payable to Ross and his associates, as the wages of their defection, were to cease. The stipulated salaries were :—To the Earl, £200 sterling annually in time of war, and 100

1 Western Highlands and Isles, 47.

merks in time of peace; to Donald Balloch, £40, and to John, his son, £20, in time of war; and in time of peace half these sums respectively.''

This treaty was concluded on 13th February, 1462; but the impatient Earl had already assumed the style of a sovereign,[1] and renounced his allegiance to the young King. From Inverness he issued proclamations in true royal fashion; and his army, under the command of his illegitimate son, Angus, and the veteran Donald Balloch, speedily brought the North to his feet. But his reign was short. His followers after a time disappeared like the mists of their own mountains; and in the end he was glad to come to terms with the King. His life and his property were spared, and for years all went well.[2] But in 1474 his treaty with Edward became known, and its astounding nature roused the Government to action. At his Castle of Dingwall he was summoned to appear before Parliament. He did not obey, and in his absence he was pronounced a traitor, and his estates forfeited. To carry the sentence into effect a large armament, consisting of a fleet and land forces, prepared to move northward. But before it started the Earl entered into negotiations with the King, which resulted in the restoration of peace. An

1 The Earl acted as an independent prince as early as October, 1461, when, by the advice of his principal vassals and kinsmen, in council assembled at his castle of Ardtornish, he formally appointed his trusty and well-belovel cousins, Ranald of the Isles, and Duncan, Archdean of the Isles, his ambassadors to negotiate the treaty with Edward IV.—(Gregory, 47.)

2 Gregory, 48, 49; Burton, III., 14.

arrangement which partook almost of the nature of a compromise between independent Powers was entered into. John was created a Lord of Parliament, with the title of Lord of the Isles, and he retained the greater portion of his vast possessions; but the Earldom of Ross was taken from him and vested in the Crown, and the Castle and Lordship of Urquhart were retained by the King and placed under the control of George, Earl of Huntly, His Majesty's Chamberlain in the North.[1]

Thus terminated, in the year 1476, that possession of our Parish which, with various interruptions, the great Island Chiefs had enjoyed by themselves or their vassals since the death of the Wolf of Badenoch in 1394. Their tenancy was not a profitable one to the Crown. The Exchequer Accounts show that the stipulated rent of £100 a year was seldom paid. In noting the non-payment in 1473, Alexander Fleming, the King's Chamberlain, remarks that His Majesty must be consulted regarding the matter.[2] The consultation, if it took place, was of no avail; and for the remaining years of the Earl's possession he insisted on withholding the rent as his reward for keeping the Castle.[3]

Neither did the Islesmen's rule conduce to the prosperity of the people. Their wars and feuds were a constant drain on the manhood of the Parish, and the country was frequently left a prey to the

1 Gregory, 49, 50; Burton, III., 14, 15; Exchequer Rolls, VIII. See Acts of Parl. of Scot. II., for official documents relating to John's resignation of the Earldom.

2 Exchequer Rolls, VIII. 3 Ibid.

fierce and needy neighbours by whom it was surrounded. Even the severing of the Island connection failed for a time to improve matters. The Macleans, who were chamberlains for the Earls, and kept the Castle for them after Livingston's resignation in 1554, acquired a power and influence which it was hard to surrender. Within the old fortress they sometimes entertained their princely patrons and other chiefs.[1] At other times they led the flower of the men of Urquhart on the distant expeditions of their Lords, or in some feud on their own account against a neighbouring clan. Charles Maclean, the first of the race, added to his influence by attaching himself and his posterity to the Clan Chattan.[2] The alliance was cemented by the marriage of his son, Hector Buie, to Margaret, daughter of Malcolm Mackintosh, captain of that clan.[3] Hector was survived by at least three sons—Ewen, who succeeded him in Urquhart; Charles Auchinson (that is, son of Eachann, or Hector), who, in 1492, appears as a witness to a bond of friendship between Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, and Farquhar Mackintosh;[4] and

1 Earl John was there in November, 1466, when he granted a charter of the lands of Keppoch to Hector Maclean's father-in-law, Malcolm Beg Mackintosh. The traditions of Glenmoriston still speak of the Island chiefs' progresses through that Glen on their way to the Castle, and of their custom of exchanging shirts with the head of the Glenmoriston Macdonalds (Mac Iain Ruaidh) as a pledge of mutual friendship and fidelity. Mac Iain Ruaidh was known as the Lord of the Isles' "Leine-chrios"—literally "waist-shirt"— signifying counsellor or confidential adviser.

2 Invernessiana, 100; Mackintosh Shaw's History of Clan Chattan, 151. 3 Mackintosh Shaw, 153.

4 Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, 83.

Farquhar Auchinson, who witnesses the same deed, and was the first of the family who possessed Dochgarroch.[1]

Whatever rights Ewen had in Urquhart came to an end with the close of its connection with the Isles. From the Earl of Huntly he had no favour to expect; and, setting up a claim of *duchas*, or unwritten title, to the lands of Urquhart, he resolved to hold them by the sword. Supported by the heroic Clan 'Ic Uian in Glen-Urquhart, and by the Macdonalds of Glenmoriston, he bade defiance to the King's Chamberlain, and entered on a struggle that lasted for upwards of thirty years. Huntly was required to provide the Crown with the old rent of £100, but questions of management were left to himself, and he leased the entire Lordship to Hugh Rose, Baron of Kilravock. Ewen Maclean opposed Kilravock's entry, and his cause was espoused by his uncle and adopted chief, Duncan Mackintosh, Captain of Clan Chattan, and the latter's brothers, Allan and Lachlan. But Kilravock's wife was a sister of Mackintosh, and, probably through her influence, he and they agreed to settle by arbitration all disputes between them, and especially all questions regarding Urquhart. The arbitrators were Alexander Gordon of Megmar (son of Huntly), Sir

1 Invernessiana, 101. Hector probably gave his name to Gortan Eachainn at Balmacaan. Balmacaan itself is written Ballymakauchane —Baile-Mac-Eachainn, the Town of the Son of Hector—in the charter of 1509 to John the Bard; but the name is Baile-Mac-Cathain—Mac-Cathan's Township or Stead.

Duncan Grant of Freuchie (Laird of Grant), Sir James Ogilvy of Deskford, John Grant (son and heir apparent of the said Sir Duncan), Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, and David Ogilvy of Thomade. They met before the Earl of Huntly on 26th March, 1479, and, after solemn deliberation, pronounced their award—"All which being heard, understood, and considered by the said Earl," records the officiating notary, "he with the advice of the said arbitrators, and with the consent and assent of the said Duncan Mackintosh, and Allan and Lachlan, his brothers-german, let the foresaid lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, with all their privileges and just pertinents, to the said Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and willed that he should intromit with the same in the manner and form previously agreed on between the said Earl and Hugh, and that as is contained in the foresaid lease to the said Hugh."[1]

Ewen Maclean, who was not a party to the arbitration, refused to be bound by the decision; and, in consequence of the trouble which he gave, Kilravock procured, in 1481, two bonds of friendship from the Mackintoshes. The Chief, by deed dated 25th July, binds and obliges himself and his sons, brothers, and brothers' children, and his kin, friends, and adherents, "gif owcht be brokin" of the previous agreement, to rectify the same, as Huntly and the said arbitrators may advise;[2] and on the 23rd of September his son Farquhar undertakes, in usual bond of friendship style, to help, maintain, and

1 Family of Kilravock, 139. 2 Ibid, 143.

defend the Baron and his kin in all their actions, causes, and quarrels. And then follows this clause in reference to Maclean:—"And if Ewyne Makachtane [Ewen, son of Hector] will come before Mackintosh—my father—and me, and bind himself to submit to Mackintosh and eight persons chosen by them with him, in all matters debateable between the foresaid Baron and Ewyne, the foresaid Mackintosh and the eight persons being sworn to give each of them as far as they have right or law, it will satisfy me; but, if the said Ewyne will not, I, the foresaid Farquhar, bind and oblige myself, as is before written, to take a onefold part with the said Baron, and his bairns and party, against the said Ewyne and his party; and this to do and fulfil in all things, and by all things, in manner and form before written, the great oath sworn and the holy evangel touched, I, the foresaid Farquhar, bind and oblige myself to the said Huchone the Rose, Baron, and his sons, brothers, kin, and party, as is before written, under the pain of inhability, perjury, and infamy, in the most strict style and form of bond or obligation that made is, or can be devised."[1]

This solemn covenant did not in the least influence Ewen's conduct. He still opposed Kilravock, and he had an active sympathiser in his uncle, Lachlan Mackintosh of Gallovie, who, although a party to the arbitration, did not join in the subsequent bonds. Gallovie resolved to strike the Baron within

[1] The spelling is here modernised. See Family of Kilravock, 144, for an exact copy of the bond.

his castle of Kilravock; and, with that view, he, on 15th May, 1482, entered into an indenture of an extraordinary nature with his kinsman, Donald, son of Angus Mackintosh. The family of Rose had been owners of Kilravock for two centuries before the parties to this deed were born; yet they record, as a justification of the enterprise on which they are about to enter, that "it is rehersit, presumyt, and in sum part knawin be part of the eldest off the lande, that Huchone the Rois, barone of Kilravok, sulde haff na tityll off richt to the castell of Kilrawok, na to the grunde that it standis on;" and, taking it for granted that they have a right to seize what they do not even pretend to be theirs, Donald obliges himself, "in all possibill hast," to take the castle and deliver it to Lachlan, who is immediately to appoint Donald to be its constable so long as they are able to hold it, whether by law or against law. In return for these services Donald is to be placed in possession of certain lands; and, "for the mare kindnes, traistnes, ande securite," he is to marry Lachlan's daughter Margaret. The young people being within the prohibited degrees, the lady's father undertakes to procure a dispensation from the Pope at his own expense. But in the meantime the canonical impediment is not to be allowed to hinder the union. As soon as the said castle shall be taken by the said Donald, proceeds the strange paction, the said Lachlan shall forthwith, and without any longer delay, handfast Margaret, his said daughter, to the said Donald, and she shall

lie with him as if she were his lawful wife; and, as soon as the dispensation comes home, the said Donald is obliged, forthwith and without any longer delay, to marry and espouse the said Margaret, and to hold her in honour and worship at all his power as his wedded wife, for all the days of his life. Lachlan then binds himself to pay a tocher of forty merks Scots, ten of which shall be paid at the time of the handfasting, and ten at each term of Whitsunday and Martinmas thereafter, until the whole is paid; and to clothe his daughter "honestly," and to keep and maintain her in his own house for two years, if Donald shall so require. And the covenant is solemnly concluded by both parties touching the holy evangel, and swearing the great oath that they shall keep the same without fraud or guile, or "cavillacione."[1]

It is stated by the old historian of Kilravock that Donald actually surprised the Castle, and committed slaughter and destroyed papers.[2] Be that as it may, the Baron made up his mind to get rid of Urquhart. He accordingly, on 24th June, 1482, got from Huntly the office of keeper of the royal fort of Redcastle; and in consideration of the services to be rendered by him in that capacity the Earl relieved him of his unprofitable and troublesome lease, and discharged him of all sums payable under it.[3]

1 Family of Kilravock, 146. See similar clause as to the lady's maintenance in Janet Chisholm's contract, p. 43 *supra*. A merk Scots was equal to 13s 4d Scots, or 3s 4d sterling, Scots money being then about one-fourth of money sterling. By the 17th century, owing to the depreciation of the Scottish coinage, it took £12 Scots to make £1 sterling.

2 Ibid, 10. 3 Ibid, 149.

One effect of the struggle with the Macleans was to aggravate the evils from which the country had suffered in the days of the Lords of the Isles, and to increase the wretchedness and poverty of the people. The Exchequer Rolls—brief and bald though their entries are—give us sad glimpses of the state of the Parish. In an account rendered by Huntly in July, 1478, for the previous year, he deducts from the rent of £100 the sum of £33 6s 8d, "on account of the laying waste of the lands of Glenmoriston, as was vouched at the audit;"[1] and in the next year's account William Gordon of Dunlugas, the acting Chamberlain for the time, makes a similar deduction "on the ground that Urquhart and Glenmoriston were waste, and could not be let for the year of the account."[2] In reference to the latter account, Huntly is instructed "either to let or occupy the said lands in future, as no further allowance shall be made to him on that ground;" but, despite this, the same abatement is allowed to him for the same reason in the account from July, 1479, to July, 1480, and again he is ordered to let or occupy the lands.[3] The state of the Parish, in short, had become wretched in the extreme. The feuds which had so long raged between contending claimants destroyed the manhood of the country; outside clans made thieving inroads on the undefended glens; bloodshed and rapine prevailed; the operations of seed time and harvest were to a large extent suspended; and the

1 Exchequer Rolls, VIII.
2 Exchequer Rolls, VIII. 3 Ibid.

fertile fields became one great wilderness, incapable of returning the miserable yearly rent of £100 Scots —equal then to about £25 sterling—payable to the Crown. In these circumstances Huntly, in obedience to the King's commands, looked around for a stronger tenant than Kilravock. His choice fell on the Knight of Freuchie, Chief of the powerful Clan Grant.

Sir Duncan Grant was not unacquainted with the history and circumstances of the country of which he was now asked to take charge. He had been one of the arbitrators under the submission of 1479, and long before his time his family had a territorial connection with the district of Loch Ness. Stratherrick, which was the home of his family before they settled on the banks of the Spey, was possessed by them from the early part of the thirteenth century, until it passed into the hands of the Frasers about the year 1420. According to tradition, the Church estate of Foyers was their last possession in Stratherrick, and they lost it in this manner. The young bride of Gruer Mor of Portclair went forth, as was then the wont of newly married women, to receive the presents of her friends. At Foyers she was grossly insulted by Laurence Grant; and she reported the outrage to her husband, who resolved to punish the offender, and sailed from Portclair with galleys full of fighting men. Grant and his followers rowed out to meet him, and a desperate fight took place in the bay to the west of Foyers, which is to this day known as Camus

Mharbh Dhaoine—the Bay of the Dead Men. Defeated, and unable to reach the Stratherrick shore, Laurence made for Urquhart, followed by Gruer. At Ruigh Laurais—Laurence's Slope—above Ruiskich, he was overtaken and slain; and Gruer seized and retained Foyers.[1]

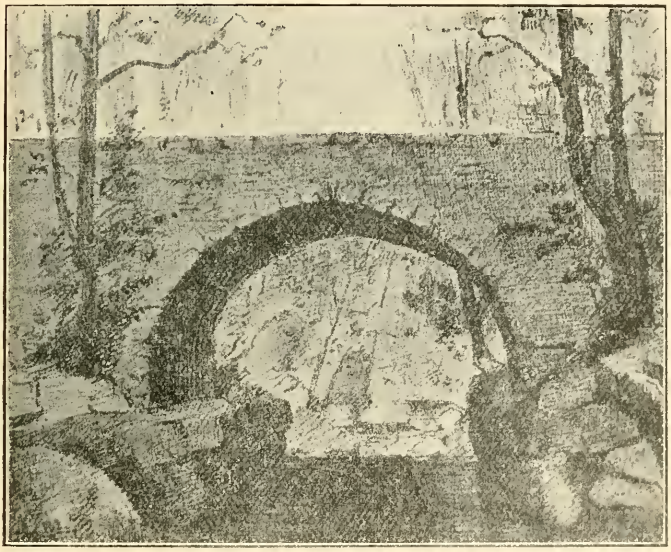
In Strathspey the family of Grant greatly extended their possessions, and became a numerous clan; and at the time at which we have now arrived the Chief, Sir Duncan, was a man of great influence in the Central Highlands. But he was full of years, and his fighting days were past; his only son died in August, 1482; and it was on his grandson John, who was known by the name of the Red Bard *(Am Bard Ruadh)*, that the active duty devolved of restoring order in Urquhart and Glenmoriston.

The Bard seems to have taken possession immediately after Kilravock's renunciation of his right, and, with the exception of an annual reduction of fifty merks allowed from 1488 to 1496 "on account of the waste of the lands of Glenmoriston," we meet no more with abatements of rent in the Exchequer Rolls. Huntly accounted regularly to the King for the yearly sum of £100, although Grant does not appear to have been too prompt in paying, for in 1492 he was four years in arrear.[2] He had probably a fair excuse in the difficulties which beset him in his arduous and dangerous undertaking. In Glen-Urquhart the Clan 'Ic Uian resisted long and

1 Foyers remained the property of the Church till 1541, when it was conveyed by the Bishop to William Fraser of Aberchalder, who thus became Fraser of Foyers.

2 Chiefs of Grant, I., lxxx.

desperately, and tradition still tells of their exploits —at one time chasing a swift-footed Strathspeyman down the hill of Clunemore, until he saved his life by leaping the swollen Coilty where it forces its way through the gorge which is now spanned by the picturesque Bridge of the Leap; at another, slaying



BRIDGE OF THE LEAP

a party of the invading clan, washing their heads in Mac Uian's Pool, at the Bridge of Drumnadrochit, and sending the ghastly trophies as a gift to the poet-chief. In Glenmoriston the Macdonalds for years opposed the Grants, and, in the language of the

Exchequer Rolls, kept the lands "waste." But the Bard's progress, if slow, was sure. In 1498 he earned the King's substantial gratitude for the "gude and thankfull service" of seizing and bringing to justice Allan Mor Mac Ewen, a son probably of Ewen Maclean;[1] and he soon found his footing so secure that he accepted direct from the Crown a lease of the Lordship for five years from Whitsunday, 1502, at the old rent of £100, of which, however, £20 a year was allowed to himself as his fee for keeping the Castle.[2] He also traded with the King, and received, in October of that year, £71 2s, as the price of "69 marts, with skins," supplied by him for His Majesty's household.[3] In 1505 he succeeded Walter Ogilvy of Boyne as King's Chamberlain of the Lordship and certain other Crown lands, and he held that office until 1509, when his good fortune reached its climax, and Urquhart and Glenmoriston were bestowed on himself and two of his sons as their own absolute property.

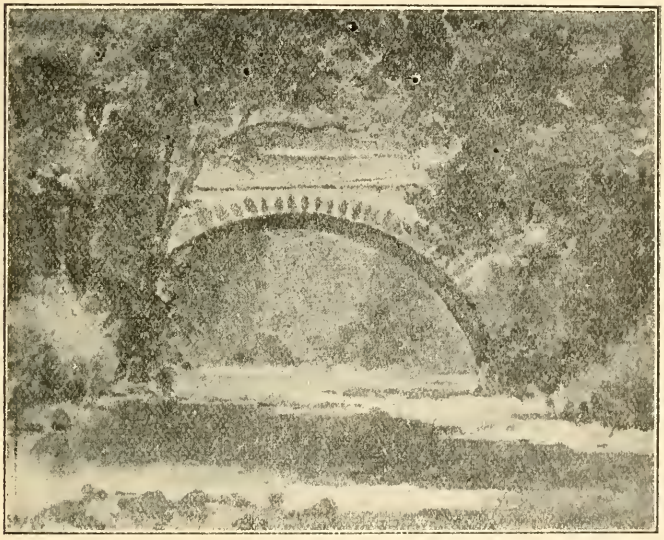
Various considerations moved the King to make these grants. Ever since the days of the Wolf of Badenoch, the lands embraced by them had formed a bone of contention between rival claimants, and the Crown derived little or no benefit from them; while the royal Castle, falling from time to time into the hands of men whose loyalty disappeared in their

1 For this service certain fines, which the Bard had incurred by non-appearance at certain justice-aires, or courts, were remitted.—Chiefs of Grant, III., 43.

2 King's Rental Book, 1502-1508, in Register House.

3 Exchequer Rolls, XII., 219.

thirst for power, became rather a menace to the Throne than a source of strength. Under the rule of the Bard a marked improvement took place. His loyalty was above suspicion. His prudence and energy led to his employment in quelling disturbances in Ross-shire and Strathglass, and even



MAC UIAN'S POOL

in the distant wilds of Mar. With his large Celtic following, he was eminently the man to maintain order within the extensive Lordship, which had almost come to be looked upon as a No-Man's-Land. It was believed, and with good reason, that, if the territory was absolutely made over to himself and

his family at a feu-duty not less than the old rent, their interest in the preservation of peace would be increased without pecuniary loss to the Crown. And so the charters of 1509 passed the Great Seal, and the Castle and Lordship of Urquhart for ever ceased to be the property of the King.

CHAPTER V

1509—1535

The Charters of 1509.—The New Baronies of Urquhart, Corrimony, and Glenmoriston.—Reservation of Church Lands.—The Proprietor's Duties and Services to the Crown.—The Castle to be added to and Strengthened.—The Inhabitants to be Protected.—Waste Lands to be Reclaimed.—The King's Highway to be Improved.—Bridges to be Maintained.—Hemp and Flax to be Cultivated.—Strange Division of the Parish.—Gradual readjustment of Marches.—Troubles with the Inhabitants.—Troubles with the Crown.—Compositions for Crimes.—The Last of the Macleans.—Invasion of Sir Donald of Lochalsh.—A Large Booty.—Prices of the Period.—The Bard's Proceedings against Sir Donald.—The Bard's Treaty with Lochiel.—Death of the Bard.—Seumas nan Creach.—Barbarous Decree against the Clan Chattan.—Urquhart exempted from the jurisdiction of Local Courts.

"KNOW ye," says the King in the charter to John the Bard[1]—and the preambles of those to his sons are in similar terms—"that for the increase of our rental, and the profit of the patrimony of our Crown, and also with a view to the advancement of order and manners, and the promotion of good government in the lands underwritten, among the inhabitants thereof, and for making those obedient to our laws who in times past have been unruly, and disobedient to our said laws, we have given, granted, and in feu-ferme demitted, and, by this our present charter confirmed

1 Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. XV., No. 173. Chiefs of Grant, III., 51.

to our lovite John Grant of Freuchie and his heirs male All and Sundry the lands underwritten, namely, the twelve merk lands of Bordlande [Borlum] of Urquhart, with the Castle and Fortalice of the same; the six merk lands of Kil St Ninian, with the mill thereof; the six merk lands of Karowgar; the six merk lands of Drumboy; the three merk lands of Wester Bunloade [Bunloit]; the three merk lands of Middil Bunloade; the three merk lands of Ester Bunloade; the six merk lands of Ballymakauchane [Balmacaan]; the six merk lands of Gartale [Cartaly]; the six merk lands of Polmale and Dulchangy; the nine merk lands of the three Inchbrunys [Inchbrine]; the three merk lands of Mekle Deveauch; with the office of forester of our forest of Cluny; and the huts commonly called the shielings of the said forest—extending in all to forty-six pounds of lands of new extent, as is contained in our new rental, and all lying in our Lordship of Urquhart, and within our Sheriffdom of Inverness; but reserving to ourselves and our successors the property of our said forest of Cluny and of the huts or shielings of the same."[1]

The King then, in consideration of Grant's services, unites and incorporates the whole of the subjects above-mentioned into one barony, to be called the Barony of Urquhart, with the Castle as its principal messuage; but the lands of Petcarill Chapell are excepted from the conveyance, and reserved to the

[1] The royal forest of Cluny (Cluanie) thus reserved by the King embraced the present forest of Ceanacroc and the lands to the west of it as far as the watershed, which in the old time formed the boundary with Kintail.

Chapel of St Ninian; which lands, adds His Majesty, "we are on no account willing to alienate."

In return for the grant the Bard and his successors are taken bound to pay £46 6s 8d Scots of yearly feu-duty; to provide and maintain three sufficient horsemen for every ten pounds of land—that is, fourteen or fifteen horsemen for the whole Barony—for royal service in time of war beyond the kingdom; and, at the King's command, to convene with all "fencible persons" dwelling on his lands. These provisions were inserted on what may be called national grounds. But the King has also in view the domestic welfare and improvement of the inhabitants of the Barony; and the Bard and his heirs are taken bound to repair or build at the Castle a tower, with an outwork or rampart of stone and lime, for protecting the lands and the people from the inroads of thieves and malefactors; to construct within the Castle a hall, chamber, and kitchen, with all other requisite offices, such as a pantry, bakehouse, brewhouse, barn, oxhouse, kiln, cot, dove-grove, and orchard, with the necessary wooden fences; to reclaim and labour untilled land lying in meadows or under pasture; to make "stiling," or enclosures; to improve the King's highway within the Barony; to cultivate hemp and flax; to watch over such matters of common advantage as stone and wooden bridges, "faldyettis" [cattle folds], and stiles; to provide common passage through the lands and Barony; and thankfully and obediently to pay their tithes and offerings to God and the Church. The charter is dated at Stirling, the 8th day of December, 1509.

On the same date, and under similar conditions, certain lands, erected into the Barony of Corrimony, are conferred on the Bard's second lawful son, Iain Og—Young John; and lands, incorporated into the Barony of Glenmoriston, on his natural son—Iain Mor—Big John—a man of singular stature and prowess, who, despite the bar sinister, early attained to great influence, and, in addition to Glenmoriston, owned the estate of Culcabock near Inverness.

The lands embraced in the Barony of Corrimony are the four pound lands of Corrymony; the four pound lands of Morull; the eight pound lands of the four Mikleis[1]; the forty shilling lands of Lochletter; the forty shilling lands of Auchintamarag; the forty shilling lands of Deveauch; and half of the lands of Mekle Clune [Clunemore], extending to twenty shillings of land; and the forty shilling lands of Petcarill Croy—extending in all to £27 of land as in the new rental, and all lying in the Lordship of Urquhart. The annual feu-duty payable to the King is £27 6s 8d.[2]

Iain Mor's Barony of Glenmoriston consists of the forty shilling lands of Conechane; the forty shilling lands of Craske; the forty shilling lands of Enachur [Aonach]; the forty shilling lands of Auchlayn; the forty shilling lands of Wester Tullclechart [Dulchreichard]; the forty shilling lands of Easter Tullclechart; the forty shilling

1 The four Meiklies included Shewglie, and Craskaig, sometime called Lakefield and now Kilmartin.

2 Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. XV., No. 175; Chiefs of Grant, III., 54.

lands of Wester Duldragyn; the forty shilling lands of Easter Duldragin; the forty shilling lands of Innerwik; the forty shilling lands of Blaree; the forty shilling lands of Over Inver [Invermoriston]; the forty shilling lands of Nether Inver; the forty shilling lands of Coulnakirk[1]; and half of the lands of Mekle Cluny [Clunemore], extending to twenty shillings of land—extending in all to £27 of land as in the new rental, and lying in the Lordship of Urquhart. In this case, also, the feu-duty is £27 6s 8d;[2] and the pecuniary result of the new arrangement is that for the whole Lordship the King is now to get £101 per annum, in lieu of the £100 formerly payable but seldom paid.

With the exception of the Church lands of Achmonie, Pitkerrald Chapel, St Drostan's Croft at Balmacaan, St Adamnan's Croft at Tychat, and a croft attached to St Ninian's Chapel at Temple House, the whole Parish thus became the property of the Grants. It is difficult to account for the singular manner in which the lands were divided between the Bard and his sons. Probably the King's intention was to keep them and their successors in dependence on each other, and to furnish them with a common motive for the maintenance of peace. The Bard, as has been seen, had the shielings of Cluny, situated more than thirty miles from his Castle, and beyond the intervening Barony of Glenmoriston; and he also possessed Carnoch and Kerrownakeill or Kerrow-na-

1 See p. 16 *supra*—footnote.
2 Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. XV., No. 174.

Coille, beyond the lands of Corrimony, and on the borders of Strathglass. Iain Mor had the detached holdings of Culnakirk and half of Clunemore, both in the very heart of his father's estate; while John Og's Barony of Corrimony embraced the other half of Clunemore, as well as Achintemarag, Divach, and Pitkerrald-croy, also all situated in the centre of the Bard's possessions. We shall hereafter see how curiously this arrangement affected the administration of justice in the Parish; and the inconveniences to which it gave rise were so great that in the course of time the proprietors found it expedient to re-adjust their marches. In 1580, John, Second of Corrimony, resigned his Barony in favour of Duncan, heir-apparent of the Laird of Grant, who, on 19th August, obtained a Crown charter thereof, in virtue of which the Chiefs of Grant have ever since been the feudal superiors of that estate. In granting to John's successor a renewal of the title in 1610, John, Laird of Grant, retained Shewglie and Lochletter, which accordingly ceased to form part of Corrimony. In July, 1674, Ludovick Grant of Grant made over Carnoch and Kerrow-na-Coille to John Grant of Corrimony in exchange for Pitkerrald-croy and Achintemarag. He had probably already acquired Corrimony's lands of Divach and Clunemore. Glenmoriston's half of Clunemore, as well as his lands of Culnakirk, were sold to Ludovick in June, 1696. And as to the grazings of Cluny, which became the common shieling ground of the tenants of both Glen-Urquhart and Glenmoriston, they have for generations been in the exclusive pos-

session partly of the Glenmoriston family, and partly of the proprietors of Kintail.

The Grants, notwithstanding the absolute right which they had now acquired to the ancient royal domain, had not yet attained to absolute peace. Iain Mor of Glenmoriston, especially, experienced great difficulty in reconciling to his rule the Macdonalds of his Glen, who still looked on the Macdonald chiefs as their only lords.[1] The new proprietors, too, early got into trouble with the Crown. Their charters provided that if they or their successors should at any time be convicted of treason, murder, or common theft, the forfeiture of their estates would be the

[1] There were five septs of Macdonalds in Glenmoriston—Clann Iain Ruaidh, Clann Iain Chaoil, Clann Eobhainn Bhain, Sliochd Ghilleasbuig, and Clann Alasdair Choire-Dho. The first four were descended from four sons of Iain Mor Ruigh-nan-Stop. That personage was on one occasion returning from Glen-Urquhart, along with his sixteen stalwart sons, when they all sat down to rest at Fasadh-an-Fhithich, near Allt-Iarairidh. As they rested, a raven flew over their heads and dropped a bone in their midst. Twelve of the young men handled the bone with curiosity, and as the thirteenth was about to do so he was stopped by his father, who said, "Mas 's fortan e, tha gu leoir againn; ma 's mi-fhortan e, tha tuille 's a choir againn"—"If it augurs good fortune, we have enough; if it forbodes evil, we have too much." Before the end of a year and a day, the twelve who touched the bone were all dead. The other four—Iain Ruadh (Red John), Iain Caol (Slender John), Eobhan Ban (Fair Ewen), and Gilleasbuig (Archibald)—survived, and from them sprang the four septs called after them. Sliochd Alasdair Choire-Dho lived in Corri-Dho. It has been, and still is, the custom in the Parish to bury the dead on their backs, with their feet towards the east, in order that when rising at the Resurrection they may have their faces towards our Lord, as He appears in the east. Sliochd Alasdair Choire-Dho, however, lie with their feet to the *west*, in order that, in rising at the sound of the last trump, they may face their beloved Corri-Dho. Their graves occupy the nearest corner to that Corrie of the old churchyard of Clachan Mhercheird.

penalty. But the apparent harshness of this provision was greatly modified by another clause, which sanctioned "composition" for certain crimes. This privilege, which resembled the Gaelic custom of *Eric*, and under which pardon was purchasable for money, was a source of considerable revenue to the Scottish kings; and it was soon put in practice in our Parish. In some unexplained manner the new proprietors and certain of their tenants were, in 1510, held guilty of receiving and assisting rebels, and forced to make composition. Iain Mor of Glenmoriston's *componitur* is dated 1st July. On the 10th a similar composition is made by a number of persons, including John Makgillecallum in Borlum, and John Roy Makenis [Son of Angus], Donald Roy Makdonald, Muldonych Owre, and John Makyngown [the Smith's Son], all residing in Urquhart; and John Makmurrych, Gillendris Makmurrych, Gillecreist Macmuldonych, Donald Gowroy [Son of the Red Smith], and William Alexanderson [*i.e.*, Son of Alexander], all on the estate of Corrimony; and the Bard himself compounded on the 15th.[1] Alexanderson is especially distinguished, for he has slain, or has been a party to the death of, Farquhar Macewen —a crime for which he obtains express pardon. Farquhar appears to have been a son of Ewen Maclean; and, with this incidental reference to his death, his brave race disappears from record. In time they ceased to dream of the ownership of Urquhart; and

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 56, 57.

Ewen's descendants are now peaceful tenants on lands for which their forefathers long fought and bled.

Greater misfortunes than these troubles with the Crown were about to fall on the Parish. The bold and chivalrous character of James the Fourth was much to the liking of his Celtic subjects, and, when he entered on that expedition which ended so disastrously at Flodden, they flocked to his standard. But it happened after his death as it happened after the death of James the Second. The confusion that followed destroyed the loyalty of the fickle Islanders, and reawakened in their breasts the old desire for independence. A Lord of the Isles was proclaimed in 1513 in the person of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh whose father had previously claimed the title. As the best bid for popular favour, Sir Donald began his career by leading a large army into Glen-Urquhart. Seizing the Castle, he expelled the garrison and plundered and laid waste the Glen[1]—among those who aided him being Chisholm of Comar, Macdonald of Glengarry, an amazon from Buntait who rejoiced in the name of Mor Euoin Evin, and her son Donald Mac Alasdair. The spoil was rich and varied. From the Castle were taken pots, pans, kettles, napery, beds, sheets, blankets, coverings, cods, fish, flesh, bread, ale, cheese, butter, salt hides, and "uther stuf of houshald," of the value in all of more than £100; while the booty from the land consisted of 300 cattle and 1000 sheep, 300 bolls of bear and 200 bolls of oats, with the fodder, from the town

1 Gregory, 114.

and grange of Kil St Ninian, which was in the Laird of Grant's own hands; 100 bolls of bear and 200 of oats from Corrimony; 60 bolls of bear and 120 of oats from Achmonie; 100 bolls of bear and 200 of oats from Pitkerraldmore and Dulshangie; 120 bolls of oats and 60 bolls of bear from Meiklie; 120 bolls of oats and 60 of bear from Kerrowgair; and 120 bolls of oats and 60 of bear from the lands of "Tulaichla," probably Tullich of Corrimony. The value of the oats, including straw, is stated at 4s per boll, and that of the bear at 8s. Each cow is valued at 26s 8d, and each sheep at 4s.

Sir Donald was not satisfied with the mere produce of the land. As the successor of the old Lords of the Isles, he would also have the territory, and for three years he kept forcible possession of Glen-Urquhart, "lauboring and manuring" the fields, and preventing the rightful possessors from enjoying their profits. In legal proceedings subsequently taken by the Bard, these profits, after deducting working expenses, were estimated at 300 bolls of bear and 200 bolls of oats, valued at the above prices; and to this was added the grazing of 600 cows and oxen, 1000 sheep and goats, 200 horses and mares, and 200 swine (the value of each "soum" of grass being 1s 6d), and also 120 merks of money, and 280 bolls of victual, bear and meal, at the value of 8s per boll, as the amount of "the maills, carriage, services, profits, and duties of the remanent of the lands and lordship of Urquhart," of which the Laird was deprived during the three years.[1]

[1] Chiefs of Grant, III., 62, 372, 373.

In consequence of the friendliness, if not the active aid, of the Clan 'Ic Uian in Glen-Urquhart, and of the Macdonalds in Glenmoriston, Sir Donald's sojourn in the Parish was considerably longer than it would have been under less favourable circumstances. But the Grants finally prevailed, and Urquhart saw the last of the invaders before the close of 1516. Having won in the field, the Bard now entered the courts of law against Sir Donald and his friends. A summons for the loss and damage sustained by himself and his fellow sufferers was called before the Lords of Council at Edinburgh, on 26th February, 1517. The accused failed to appear, and the extent of the damage was referred to the oath of the Bard, who was present. "Tua thousand pund, with the mair," was the sum and substance of his evidence; and for £2000 judgment was accordingly given. The Bard, however, did not get his money. Sir Donald died in 1519. His sisters, Margaret and Janet of the Isles, succeeded to him; and in 1549—long after the Bard's death—we find his son James obtaining authority, under the signet of Mary, Queen of Scots, to recover the debt by poinding and selling the goods and effects of Margaret, and of Thomas Dingwall of Kildune, son and heir of the now deceased Janet; of Donald Mac Alasdair, for himself and as heir of his mother, the amazon of Buntait, who had also gone the way of all flesh; and of Chisholm, and other offenders.[1] What the result of these proceedings was it is perhaps

[1] Chiefs of Grant, III., 62, 372.

impossible to ascertain. The probability is that the debt was never recovered. In any case, no compensation reached the people of Glen-Urquhart for the famine and distress which followed their spoliation in the beginning of the winter of 1513-14, and the violent possession of their holdings by the strangers. Glenmoriston had the fortune to be inhabited mainly by Macdonalds, and so it was spared.

One result of the invasion was that the Bard sought an alliance with Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, Captain of Clan Cameron, with whom he entered into a bond of friendship on 22nd October, 1520. The deed was executed at Urquhart before distinguished witnesses, including the noble and mighty lord, Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat; the venerable father in God, Nychol, Prior of Beauly; Hew Fraser, Master of Lovat; John the Grant of Culcabock, as Iain Mor calls himself; and Sir John McCoule, Vicar of Kilmonivaig, who doubtless had come to watch over the legal interests of Lochiel in connection with the transaction, for in that age the preachers of the gospel were also the practitioners of the law. The Bard and his son and heir, James, and Lochiel and his son and heir, Donald, bind themselves and their heirs for ever to stand by each other, in "leil, trew, anefold" kindness, and to defend each other in their persons, goods, lands, and kin. The treaty especially provides that the Camerons shall defend the Grants in Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and that the Grants shall defend the Camerons in Lochaber, against "all thame at levis or dee ma;" and to strengthen the alliance, and

"for the mair securitie," a marriage is, as usual, resorted to. Young Donald Cameron is to marry the Laird's daughter, Agnes Grant, in face of Holy Kirk, immediately after a papal dispensation rendered necessary by some canonical impediment shall be procured. Meanwhile, as in the case of the somewhat similar contract between Mackintosh of Gallovie and Donald Mackintosh in 1482,[1] the rules of the Church yield to the worldly interests of the parties; and until the dispensation shall arrive the young couple are to live together without the sanction of religion—an arrangement calmly concurred in by the pious vicar of Kilmonivaig. "And," to quote the document itself, "if it shall happen that the said dispensation come not home within the said time of fifteen days after Martinmas [1520], the said John the Grant is bound and obliged to cause them be handfast and put together, his said daughter Agnes Grant and the said Donald, for marriage to be completed, in the default of the dispensation not coming home at the said time." There is danger, of course, that after the handfast period of probation Donald may decline to tie himself indissolubly to the young lady. And so to meet this risk Lord Lovat, Alexander Cumming, son of Cumming of Altyre, and Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, become sureties that the marriage shall be duly completed after the arrival of the dispensation, under the penalty of one thousand merks to be paid by them to the lady and her father

[1] See p. 68 *supra*.

in the event of Donald's refusal—and for that sum they undertake to grant their formal bond at "the time that the said Agnes is handfast in hope of marriage." The parties then touch the holy evangel, and give their "bodily oaths" to implement the covenant; and so the bond of friendship is solemnly concluded.[1] For the lady's sake it is pleasant to record that Donald Cameron showed no desire to discard her; and in course of time their regular marriage was duly solemnized. But the great object of the treaty was not attained, and we shall hereafter find Agnes' eldest son taking a leading part in the most sweeping raid ever made on our unfortunate Parish.

Under the charters of 1509, the Grants were, as we have seen, bound to provide and maintain three sufficient horsemen for every ten pounds of land, for the King's service in time of war beyond Scotland, and to assemble with all their fencible followers when required within the kingdom. Several Highland chiefs were in James the Fourth's army at Flodden, and, although there is no clear evidence on the point, it is probable that the Bard was among them. But when he and his people were summoned by the Regent Albany in October, 1523, to join him in an expedition against England, they failed to obey. The Regent's army crossed the Border, and attempted to take Wark Castle; but it was driven back, and the foolish adventure came to an end. The conduct of the Grants was,

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 64.

however, not forgotten, and they had to buy themselves out of the consequences of their disobedience. On 13th February, 1527, by letters under the Great Seal, James the Fifth remitted to the aged Bard and his son James, their kinsmen of Glenmoriston and Corrimony, and a number of other persons whose places of residence are not given, their crime of absence from the King's host at Solway and Wark, and took them under the royal protection.[1] The list of defaulters was, however, not yet exhausted. On 26th November, 1534, a number of Urquhart men compounded for their absence from the Solway expedition and other offences by paying £14 into the King's exchequer. Their names deserve mention —Gillanderis M'Gillemartyne M'Kerin, Kennoch M'Gillepatrik, John Croy M'Patrik M'Gillespik, Donald M'Paule Nele, John Dow M'Mulmore, and James M'Kynkeir.[2]

The venerable Bard closed his long and useful life in May, 1528, leaving the Barony of Urquhart and his other estates to his son Seumas nan Creach —James of the Forays. James had no sooner succeeded than he was called on by the King to execute a strange and barbarous commission. The Clan Chattan, whom we saw giving trouble in connection with the claims of Ewen Maclean to Urquhart, became, under the leadership of Hector Mackintosh, such a scourge to their neighbours that a royal mandate was issued in November, 1528, for

1 Chiefs of Grant, I., 515, and III., 72. 2 Ibid., III., 77.

their complete extermination.[1] Directed to the northern Sheriffs, the Earl of Moray, Lord Lovat, John Grant of Freuchie, Chisholm of Comar, and other Highland potentates, the writ commanded them to invade the territories of the proscribed clan, and to utterly destroy them by slaughter, burning, and drowning, and to leave none of them alive except priests, women, and children. What was to become of the priests after their flocks were destroyed is not suggested; but the women and children were to be taken to the nearest port and put on board ships to be furnished at the King's expense, which would "saill with thame furth of our realme, and land with them in Jesland, Zesland, or Norway; because it wer inhumanite to put handis in the blude of wemen and barnis."

John the Bard was dead before the commission was issued, and the duty of executing it fell to Seumas nan Creach. But he and the other personages to whom it was directed were slow to act, and the Mackintoshes continued in their old courses. In 1534 they besieged and destroyed the castle of Daviot, belonging to Ogilvie of Strathnairn, slew twenty-two persons, including women and children, and carried off a large booty of grain, cattle, goods, and household effects. In this enterprise they were aided and abetted by Seumas nan Creach himself, as well as by Iain Mor of Glenmoriston, Gillanderis M'Gillemartyne M'Kerin, and the other Urquhart men who com-

1 Spalding Club Miscellany, II., xxxv., 83.

pounded for their crimes in November of that year.[1] But this composition did not cover their offence of assisting Hector Mackintosh and his accomplices, which was indeed specially excepted from the remission. A further payment became necessary; the money duly passed into the King's treasury; and on 22nd July, 1535, Seumas nan Creach obtained a general pardon.[2] By this time, indeed, he had greatly ingratiated himself with the King; and, on 28th July, he received a royal letter exempting himself and his friends and servants and the tenants of Urquhart and his other estates, during all the days of his life, from the jurisdiction of all courts and judges, except the high civil and criminal courts in Edinburgh, and prohibiting inferior judges and magistrates from summoning or arresting the favoured people.[3] The Edinburgh courts were far distant, and for the remainder of James' lifetime the men of Urquhart were virtually independent of all law, save that of their own baron-bailies. They would have been better than the evil days in which they lived, if they did not take full and frequent advantage of the doubtful privilege which they had obtained.

1 Invernessiana, 206; Chiefs of Grant, III., 77.
2 Chiefs of Grant, III., 77. 3 Chiefs of Grant, II., 1.

CHAPTER VI

1535—1560

Troubles in the Western Highlands.—Feud between Ranald Gallda and John of Moidart.—The Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston assist Ranald.—Battle of Blar-na-Leine.—Glengarry and Lochiel invade Glenmoriston and Urquhart.—The Great Raid.—The Spoil and the Despoiled.—Urquhart Burnt.—Incidents of the Raid.—The Strong Woman of Richraggan.—The Big Smith of Polmaily.—His Adventures with the Fairies.—A Wonderful Filly.—The Smith's Sons Slain.—Legal Proceedings against Glengarry and Lochiel.—Their Lands apprised to the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston.—Glenmoriston's Death.—His Character and Influence.—Dispute regarding his Succession.—The Ballindalloch Feud.—Death of the Laird of Grant.—Sad state of the Country.—The Justiciar of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.—A ghastly Gift to the Queen Regent.—The Reformation.—The Church's Patrimony Alienated.—John Mackay acquires Achmonie.—The other Church Lands fall to the Grants.

In the summer of 1544 Hugh, Lord Lovat, and a body of Frasers from the neighbouring district of the Aird, passed through our Parish on their way to join the Earl of Huntly in an attempt to suppress certain disturbances in the Western Highlands, and, especially, to assist Ranald Gallda in his struggle with John of Moidart—Iain Muideartach—for the chiefship of Clan Ranald. Ranald, who accompanied the Frasers, was a nephew of their chief, and was related by marriage to the Lairds of

Grant[1] and Glenmoriston, by whom his cause was also supported. The Laird of Grant joined Huntly with a following from Glen-Urquhart and Strathspey; and in the ranks of the Frasers were to be found men from Glenmoriston, led probably by one of Iain Mor's natural sons.[2] The Macdonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch and the Camerons supported John of Moidart; but, although Huntly penetrated into their country as far as Inverlochy, they refrained from giving battle, and he had to return homeward without striking a blow. At the Water of Gloy the forces separated, Huntly and the Laird of Grant proceeding with the bulk of the army by Brae-Lochaber and Badenoch to Strathspey, while Lord Lovat and Ranald Gallda, with the Frasers and the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, took the direct route to their own countries, along the Great Glen. John of Moidart

1 It is difficult to say at what precise period Grant of Freuchie began to be styled Tighearna Ghrannd, or Laird of Grant. Sir William Fraser (Chiefs of Grant, I., 322) speaking of the erection of the Regality of Grant in 1694, states :—" From this date the Laird of Freuchie changed his formal designation, and became the Laird of Grant." But the title " Laird of Grant " appears at least as early as 1569, and in 1592 James the Sixth so addresses the Chief (Chiefs, II., 4, 11). Donald Donn of Bohuntin, who flourished in the time of the Commonwealth, repeatedly refers to Tighearna Ghrannd in his songs. The probability is that the Chiefs were popularly called Lairds of Grant long before they were so styled in formal writings.

2 Iain Mor's lawful son Patrick, who succeeded him in his lands in Urquhart and Glenmoriston, is said to have taken part in the expedition. He, however, could not have done so. Iain Mor's first wife, Elizabeth Innes, was alive in 1541, and Patrick was a son of his second wife, Agnes Fraser. In 1541 Iain appears to have had no lawful son, as lands acquired by him in that year were destined to John Grant of Freuchie, failing his three illegitimate sons and their heirs.

now saw his opportunity. Carefully concealed on the northern banks of Loch Lochy, he watched with eager eye the parting of his enemies, and stole along the shore to meet Lovat at the east end of the loch; and there the bloody fight of Blar-na-Leine took place. The opposing forces first discharged their arrows, and then, casting aside their bows, and, according to tradition, stripping themselves to their shirts, rushed to close combat, and, with claymore and Lochaber axe, fought hand-to-hand for hours under a broiling July sun. Both sides were literally cut to pieces. Of the Frasers, according to their own historians, Fraser of Foyers and other four men alone escaped; and they, with their surviving comrades from Urquhart and Glenmoriston, returned home bearing tidings of the disaster, and carrying the dead bodies of Lovat and his son and Ranald Gallda for interment within the sacred precincts of Beauly Priory.[1]

For the part taken by the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston in the ill-fated expedition, John of Moidart and his allies determined on revenge. A great invasion of the Parish was planned; and Alasdair Mac Iain 'Ic Alasdair of Glengarry, his son Angus, and Ewen Cameron, the young heir of Lochiel, were appointed to carry it into effect. Ewen's mother was a sister of the Laird of Grant, and a half-sister of Iain Mor, and, as we saw in our last chapter, the great object of the marriage of

1 Gregory's Western Highlands and Islands; Anderson's Family of Fraser; Chisholm Batten's Priory of Beauly. Blar-na-Leine is popularly supposed to mean the Field of the Shirts; but the Gaelic name is Blar na Lèana, the Field of the swampy Meadow.

which he was the issue was to secure peace and goodwill between the clans. But it is not always true that "blood is thicker than water;" and the solemn treaty of 1520 was to him as waste paper. Into the project against his uncles he entered with alacrity, and along with the old and young Lairds of Glengarry gave the Parish a foretaste of what was in store for it by appearing on the banks of the Moriston in October, 1544, and taking a booty of twenty "great" or full-grown cattle, eight calves, five young cattle, four horses, one mare, twenty ewes, ten wethers, twenty lambs, thirty goats, eighteen kids, eighty-eight bolls of oats, twenty-nine bolls of barley, and household goods to the value of £12 6s 8d, from the lands of Invermoriston.[1] The uplands of Glenmoriston, which were possessed by the perhaps not unfriendly Macdonalds, were not molested; and the inhabitants of Glen-Urquhart were allowed the privilege of feeding their flocks through the winter's snows. But as soon as the winter was past—in April, 1545—the joint leaders suddenly swooped down on the devoted Glen with a great host from Glengarry, Lochaber, Glencoe, Ardnamurchan, and the wilds of Clan Ranald, seized the Castle, and swept the land of every hoof and article of food or furniture which they could find—sparing only the Barony of Corrimony, whose owner had taken no part in the affair of Blar-na-Leine. Never before and never after was Highland raid so thorough. For a month or more the work of violence and devastation

1 Charter of Apprising to John Grant of Glenmoriston, Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. XXX., No. 263. See Appendix B for details.

went on; and when it was finished the invaders were the triumphant possessors of a magnificent booty, consisting of 1188 great cattle, 392 young cattle, 525 calves, 2 plough oxen, 383 horses and mares, 1978 sheep, 1099 lambs, 1410 goats, 794 kids, 122 swine, 64 geese, 3006 bolls of oats, 1277 bolls of bear and barley, a miscellaneous assortment of furniture and other household goods of the value of £533 2s, £312 in money, twenty pieces of artillery, ten stands of harness, three great boats, and a quantity of linen and woollen cloth.[1]

That the spoil was taken "with strong hand" we know from the legal writs by which the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston sought to obtain satisfaction from Lochiel and his companions; and we learn from another document of the period that in the process the houses of the people were given to the flames.[2] But

1 Charter of Apprising to James Grant, Reg. Mag. Sig. XXX., No. 314. See Appendix B for the details of the spoil and the names of the despoiled.

2 Discharge by James, Earl of Arran, Governor or Regent of Scotland, to the Laird of Grant, which is in the following terms:—

Gubernator,—Auditouris of our Chakker and Comptroller, we grete you hartly weyll: Forsamekle as it is humly menyt and notourly knawyne how the landis of Wrquhart and Glenmoristowne has beyne hereyt and brynt be the Clan Cammeron, Clanrannald, and Clanayane, quharthrow that our lowit James Grant of Fruquhie, fewar of the saiddis landis, has gottyn na proffit thairof sen the birnyng of the sammyne, quhilk was in the monetht of Maii was ane year; quhare upoune the said James hes menyt him to ws: Our will is, and we charge you, the said James makand guid payment of all thingis bygane that he aw the Queynis Graice and ws in this present Chakkere, that ye allow and discharge the said James the Graunt and his partinarris, fewarris of Wrquhard and Glenmoristoune, of thre termys maylis bygane afoyr the dayt heyrof, of the sammyne landis, quhilk we be the tenour heyrof dischargis and exonerys; kepand this precepe for your warrand: Subscrivit wytht our hand, the xx. day of Julii, the yere off God jm. vc. xlvj yeris [1546]. James G.

the formal records make no mention of how the Castle was taken, despite its "twenty pece of artailzery;" or of all the desperate fights and struggles and loss of life that there must have been, ere the men and the women of Urquhart yielded their flocks and their possessions, to face famine and perish by hunger. What the records omit, tradition to some extent supplies. One legend tells how a woman of Richraggan, seeing her only cow being driven away by the Lochaber men, seized the animal by one of its hind legs and held it fast; and how Lochiel, amazed at the woman's strength, ordered the men to leave the cow with her.

But the great legendary hero of the period was An Gobha Mor[1]—the Big Smith, or Armourer, of Polmaily. The Smith and his seven sons were noted for their enormous strength. They were also as skilful in the armourer's art as any who ever struck anvil with hammer; and no weapons were to be found in Scotland to equal their cold-iron swords (claidheamhan fuar-iarunn)—much prized weapons in the making of which the iron was heated and shaped by heavy and rapid hammer-blows, without the agency of fire.

If the Smith excelled as an armourer, he also excelled as a husbandman; and his herd of cattle at Polmaily were noted for their beauty. But suddenly and in a single night they lost their

1 See the Author's Legends of Glen-Urquhart in Trans. of Inverness Gaelic Society, Vol. II. (1873), for the Gaelic version of the Tale of the Big Smith.

good condition, and became lean and famished; and, feed them as he might, the Smith found it impossible to improve their appearance. At that time the fairies of Urquhart had their favourite retreat at Tor-na-sidhe (Tornashee), near Polmaily. The Smith had one of them for his *leannan-sidhe*, or fairy-love, and, as he rambled with her one day in the woods, she informed him that her fellow-fairies had stolen his beautiful cows, and that the lean kine which gave him so much concern were *croth-sidhe*, or fairy-cattle. Furious with rage, he hastened home, and, armed with an axe, rushed into the byre, determined to slay the unearthly herd. But before he could strike a blow the cattle drew their heads out of their halters and escaped into the open. Seizing the hindmost by the tail, the Smith sped with them till they came to Carn-an-Rath, in Ben-a'-Gharbhlaich, near Achnababan. As they approached the cairn, its side opened, and the cattle rushed in, with the Smith at their tails. On coming to a spacious chamber, which glittered with precious stones, and was filled with articles of rarest value, the animals were in the twinkling of an eye changed into ordinary fairies, who desired the astonished Smith to choose what he pleased for his own. In a remote corner of the chamber stood a little shaggy filly *(loth pheallagach)*, of which he had heard his fairy-love speak as one of extraordinary power; and he replied that he would take the filly. "A tooth out of your informant's mouth," said the fairies; but they kept their word and gave

him the *loth pheallagach*, and strictly enjoined him to use her only in the plough. The Smith promised obedience, and went away with the shaggy filly. For many years she was a marvel in the Glen, and a blessing to the inhabitants—

Threabhadh i Achadh-nam-bo,
'S an Lurga-mhor bho cheann gu ceann;
Mar sin 's an Gortan-Ceapagach,
Mu'n leagadh i as an crann![1]

But one day the Smith put the filly in a cart, for the purpose of removing manure. He had broken his promise to the fairies, and her wonderful power left her for ever.

In the days of the Smith, a dispute as to their marches arose between the Glen-Urquhart people and the Frasers of the Aird. The Frasers pushed their boundary line forward in the direction of Urquhart to a point immediately behind the township of Achintemarag, and sent a strong force of young men to maintain it in spite of their opponents. The Smith and four of his sons quietly approached the young men and requested them to return to their own country. On their refusal a fight began, in which several of the Frasers were killed, and the rest driven across the march claimed by the Urquhart people. That march has ever since been acknowledged by the Lovat tenantry, and the

[1] Old lines which may be rendered—

Achnababan she could plough,
And Lurgamore from east to west;
Likewise Gorstan-keppagach,
And still plough on without a rest!

affair is commemorated by Clach-a'-Ghobhainn Mhoir —the Big Smith's Stone—to this day.

It happened about this time that one of Lochiel's followers slew a man in Lochaber, and fled to Urquhart, where he found shelter and employment with the Smith at Polmaily. Lochiel heard that the fugitive was in the Glen, and sent men to bring him back. But he cut his hair short, and shaved his face clean; and, although the Lochaber men saw him as he worked at the anvil, they failed to recognise him, and returned home without him. But it soon reached the ears of Lochiel that the Gille Maol—the Bald Young Man[1]—whom they had seen in the smithy, was the object of their search; and he was very wroth at the Smith and the people of Urquhart, and resolved to make a raid upon them. Accordingly, he and a great many of the Clan Cameron came and seized the Castle. But not daring to meet the Big Smith and his sons in fair fight, he sent for Gille Phadruig Gobha, the Smith's son-in-law, and promised to give him the lands of Polmaily as his own if he brought him the Smith and his sons, dead or alive. "Choose out for me two score of your bravest and boldest men," replied Gille Phadruig Gobha, yielding to the temptation, "and I shall be their guide to-night." The Smith's sons slept in a barn which stood on the hillock at Polmaily which is still known as Torran nan Gillean—the Young Men's Knoll—and at

[1] According to tradition, the Macmillans of Urquhart—Clann 'Ic 'Ille Mhaoil—are descended from this worthy.

midnight the traitor and a party of Camerons quietly left the Castle, and proceeded to Polmaily, with the intention of killing the sons and then overcoming the father. Some of the Camerons remained at the door of the barn while the rest entered and attacked the sleepers, who, being without their swords, were all slain, except the youngest, whose back was broken, and who afterwards bore the name of An Gobha Crom, or the Hump-Backed Smith.

While the work of treachery and blood was going on at Torran nan Gillean, the Smith's wife dreamt that a big black sow, with a litter of young ones, was undermining the foundations of the barn. She dreamt the dream three times, and then roused her husband and implored him to go and see whether all was well with their sons. Sword in hand, he proceeded to the barn, and rushed on the Lochaber men. They fled for the Castle, and he followed, cutting them down at every stroke. Observing his son-in-law in their midst, he made efforts to reach him, whereupon the traitor cried, "*'S mi fhein a th'ann! 'S mi fhein a th'ann!*"—"It is I! It is I!" "I know it is you," replied the Smith, at the same time striking off the dastard's right ear, and placing it in his trembling hand as he crossed the stream ever since called Allt Gille Phadruig Gobha; "I know it is you; deliver that letter to Mac Dhomhnuill Duibh,[1] and tell him I shall breakfast with him at break of day." But before daybreak Mac

[1] The patronymic of Lochiel.

Dhomhnuill Duibh had left the Castle, and was far on his way to Lochaber.

Returning to the barn, the Smith found all his sons dead, except the Gobha Crom. His heart broke with sorrow, and before long the Glen of Urquhart knew him no more.

Such is the story of the Big Smith of Polmaily as it has come down to us through the mists of the past. We do not find the hero's name in the legal proceedings which, as we shall see, followed the Great Raid; but nevertheless they furnish a certain corroboration of the tale, in so far as they show that among the sufferers in Polmaily were—William, son of the Smith; Fair John, son of Donald, son of the Smith; and Baak (Beathag), daughter of Gowroy, or the Red Smith. It is thus beyond doubt that a race of armourers flourished at Polmaily in the olden time; and the Gobha Mor of tradition is more than the mere creation of Celtic imagination.[1]

So heinous an outrage as the Great Raid would in stronger times have been avenged with fire and sword; but the Kingdom was still suffering from the disasters that closed the reign and the life of James the Fifth; and the Regent Arran, who governed in name of the infant Mary, Queen of Scots, was of an easy temperament, and much disposed to let troublesome matters take their course. A royal invasion of Lochaber and the country of Clan Ranald was

1 A sept of Macdonalds, in Urquhart, are still known as Sliochd a' Ghobhainn Mhoir, the Race of the Big Smith. A spot near Tornashee is known as Ceardaich a' Ghobhainn Mhoir, the Big Smith's Smithy.

not to be looked for, and the proprietors of Urquhart and Glenmoriston had to content themselves with an appeal to the feeble arm of the law for what redress was possible.

To avoid the multiplication of lawsuits, the tenants made over their claims against the spoilers to their respective lairds—the occupiers of the Church lands of Achmonie assigning their rights to Seumas nan Creach. That Chief and Iain Mor of Glenmoriston, thus armed with a "title to sue," raised actions against Glengarry and his son and young Lochiel, having first obtained from the Regent a discharge of three half years' feu-duties due by them to the Crown, in respect that they had received no rents from their lands "since the burning of the same."[1]

The original summonses, issued under the royal signet on 3rd August, 1546, are still preserved at Castle Grant. The warrants to cite the defenders are peculiar—a citation by open proclamation at the cross of Inverness is to be held as effectual as personal citation, "becaus it is understand to the Lordis of our Counsale that thair is na sure passage to the dwelling-places nor personall presens of the saidis personis." This singular provision, considering the difficulty of making the Queen's writ run to the gates of the Black Castle of Invergarry and the shores of Loch Arkaig, was one of no small importance to William Bayne, the sheriff-officer who was entrusted with the service of the summonses.

1 See Discharge on p. 98, *supra*—footnote.

Bayne did his duty at the cross, and the causes were called before Alexander Baillie of Dunain, Constable of Inverness, and John Cuthbert of Auldcastle, Sheriffs-Depute of Inverness-shire, within the tolbooth of the Highland Capital, on 22nd October, 1546. The defenders did not appear. The pursuers attended personally, and so, doubtless, did their plundered tenants. The Sheriffs took evidence of the spoil and loss, and the defenders were ordained to restore the cattle and effects, or to pay their value and their "profits" for sixteen months, amounting, in the case of the Laird of Grant, to £10,770 13s 4d Scots, and in the case of Glenmoriston, to £718 11s 1d Scots.[1]

The defenders, who had thus become the legal debtors of the Grants, were charged on the decrees. They made no effort to restore the spoil or to pay its

[1] The following prices are mentioned in the proceedings, viz. :— Great cattle, £2 per head; young cattle, from £1 6s 8d to £2 13s 4d; calves, 6s 8d; horses and mares, £2 to £4; ewes, 4s; lambs, 1s 6d; goats, 3s; kids, 1s 4d; oats, 10s per boll; barley, 20s per boll. The profits are calculated on the following bases :—"The profits of each great cow above written by the space of the year aforesaid, extending in milk, stirk, butter, and cheese to 13s 4d; the profit of each of the cows for the space of four months beyond the said year, extending to 4s 5d; of each young cow for the year, in milk, butter, and cheese, 10s, and for the four months, 3s 4d each; of each horse for the year, in labour, riding, and wages of leadings (conductionum), 30s, and for the four months, 10s each; of each mare for the year, in foal and labour, 30s, and for the four months, 10s; of each ewe for the year, in wool, butter, cheese, and lamb, 6s 8d, and for the four months, 2s 2d; of each wether for the year and four months, in wool, extending to 16 pence; of each goat for the year, in kids and milk, 6s 8d, and for the four months, 2s 2d; of each goose for the year, 5s, and for the four months, 20 pence; of each pig for the year, 20s, and for the four months, 6s 8d." The money is Scots. For its value in money sterling see footnote 1, p. 69.

value; and Bayne, the sheriff-officer, having failed, or never seriously tried, to find any personal property belonging to them which he could poind or distrain, went to certain of their lands on 21st and 22nd April, 1547, and "denounced" the same to be "apprised" to the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston in satisfaction of the amounts due to them.[1] Bayne doubtless got through this dangerous formality in the enemy's country with all the secrecy and despatch in his power. The next step in the process was more to his liking. On the Clach-na-cudain of his own burgh he could crow loudly, with less risk to his throat; and on the 26th of the same month he publicly proclaimed the apprising at the market cross of Inverness, and called upon the distant debtors to appear before the Sheriffs on the 20th of May, to witness the formal transfer of their estates to the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston. To this summons they naturally made no response; and, in their absence, the lands were apprised by an assize of twenty-one men of probity and position,[2] who were solemnly "sworn on the holy evangels of God" to do justice between man and man without

[1] The Charters of Apprising, recorded in the Register of the Great Seal (see pp. 97, 98, *supra*, foot notes), afford excellent examples of the ancient process of "apprising," by which heritable or real property was attached for debt.

[2] They were—David Falconar of Halkertown, John Hay of Park, Robert Munro of Foulis, Thomas Brodie of that Ilk, Thomas Dingwall of Kildun, John Chisholm of Comar, Thomas Macculloch of Plaids, George Strachan of Culloden, Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, John Symson (Fraser) of Erchit, Duncan Bayne of Tulloch, William Denoon of Petmely, Alexander Dallas of Cantray, Alexander Ross of Little Ellan, Hugh Ross of Auchnacloich, John McEane McComas in Auchnashellach, Robert McCallane in Inverlael, Murdoch Dow McCoule, Murdoch Glas, Walter Innes, and Robert Falconer.

fear or favour. To Seumas nan Creach were assigned extensive tracts of country in Lochalsh, Lochcarron, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and Morar, the property of Alasdair Mac Ian 'Ic Alasdair and his son, and lands in Lochalsh and Kishorn, and the castle of Strome, and the office of Constable thereof, belonging to Ewen Cameron; while Iain Mor received certain subjects in Lochalsh belonging to Lochiel, and lands in Lochcarron belonging to Glengarry and his son.[1] Charters from the young Queen were granted to the Lairds, subject to the debtors' right to redeem the properties by paying the amounts due within seven years. Of this privilege they did not choose to take advantage, and, on the expiry of the period of redemption, the charters became absolute.

The two lairds of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were never able to take actual possession of the territories to which they had thus acquired what the old Highlanders contemptuously called a sheepskin right; and, with the exception of Lochbroom, which was made

1 The lands apprised were—To the Laird of Grant, the twelve merk lands of old extent of Lochalsh, the four merk lands of Lochcarron, the twenty merk lands of Lochbroom, the third part of lands of Glengarry, Drynach, and isle and house of Sleismenane of Glengarry, and the twelve merk lands of Morar, all belonging to old Glengarry, in frank tenement and liferent, and to his son Angus in fee and heritage; the thirteen merk lands of Kishorn, with the castle and fortalice thereof, commonly called the Strome, and the nine merk lands of Lochalsh, all belonging to Lochiel; and to Iain Mor, the five merk lands of Lochalsh, belonging to Lochiel, and comprehending the half davach lands of Auchindarroch and Lundy, the half davach lands of Fernaig-mor, half of the half davach lands of Fernaig-beg, Fynnman, and Auchecroy; and two and one-half merk lands of Lochcarron, pertaining to the Glengarries, and consisting of the half of the half davach lands of Achnashellach, the half of the davach half of the lands of Dalmartyne, and the half of the davach lands of Torridon.

over to Mackenzie of Kintail in 1570, these were in the end all surrendered to their *de facto* owners. But the royal grants had the effect of bringing Lochiel to a more reasonable frame of mind, and of somewhat lowering that high disdain with which he had hitherto regarded the majesty of the law. On the 10th of October, 1548, he met his uncles, Seumas nan Creach and Iain Mor, at Convinth, in presence of John Mackenzie of Kintail, Kenneth Mackenzie of Brahan, Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, and others, and gave friendly assurances which resulted in a new treaty. Lochiel undertook to keep "truely his kindness and fidelity" to his uncle and his heirs, especially in connection with the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and to aid him in all manner of actions against all mortals, except the Queen and the Earl of Huntly, and the Laird of Mackintosh, to whom he had recently given his bond of manrent; and the Laird of Grant agreed that, during his nephew's good behaviour, the latter should uplift and enjoy the rents and profits of the lands apprised from him, and that they should not be alienated from him, except under the advice of Mackenzie of Kintail and his son Kenneth, the Laird's son—John Grant of Mulben—Iain Mor, and others, the Laird's "well-advised friends." Grant wrote his name like a scholar, but the penman's art was incompatible with the wild dignity of Lochiel, and his hand was "led at the pen" by Mr James Farquharson, that priest of Urquhart whom he had helped to spuilzie in the raid of 1545.[1]

[1] See the contract, in Chiefs of Grant, III., 102.

Two considerations weighed with Seumas nan Creach in entering into this treaty—solicitude for the peace of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and a painful conviction of his inability to uplift the rents of the Western territories. As a matter of fact, notwithstanding some efforts to make his nominal right to the apprised lands a reality, he never derived any benefit from them. In 1549 he made formal complaint that his tenants in Morar, Glengarry, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, and Lochalsh, paid him no rent, and that without his consent they "daylie fischis in his watteris and fischingis therof . . . and distroyis his growand treis of his woddis . . . sua that the samyn woddis are all utterlie failzeit;" and, in consequence, letters under the Queen's signet were issued on 27th November of that year, ordering the Crown officers to assist him in dealing with the tenants.[1] But no improvement followed. The castle of Strome—the grey ruins of which are still a picturesque feature in the landscape of Lochcarron—continued to be held by his opponents, who were resolved to raze it to the ground rather than let it fall into his hands. On 24th June, 1553, royal letters were issued commanding them to deliver it up to its lawful owner.[2] But the command was not obeyed; and on 26th August the troubled career of Seumas nan Creach came to an end.

His son and heir, John Grant, lost no time in obtaining a precept for infefting himself in the

1 Chief of Grant, I., 114. 2 Ibid, I., 115.

Western territories.[1] His object seems to have been to put himself in the position of being able to dispose of them for a consideration. In 1570, he made over the Lochbroom portion to Mackenzie of Kintail, who married his daughter Barbara; and a year later he agreed to transfer to Angus of Glengarry his interest in that glen, and in Morar, Lochalsh, and Lochcarron.[2] The formal conveyance to Angus was never executed—probably he did not press for a sheepskin title—and Grant's son and successor, John, undertook on 14th June, 1586, to infeft the Laird of Mackintosh in the same lands in consideration of an obligation by that Chief "to keep, preserve, and defend the lands of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and all other lands and rooms pertaining to the said John Grant of Freuchie, and his foresaids from all herschips [incursions], damage, and inconveniences [that] may be committed or done thereto in time coming by the Clan-Chameron, Clan-Ranald, or any others, as he does his own lands and bounds."[3] No infeftment, however, took place, and four years later Mackintosh voluntarily renounced his right to the undesirable possessions.[4] In 1597 they were claimed by Angus' son, Donald of Glengarry, and the matter was referred to arbitration, with the result that in 1600 the Laird of Grant conveyed them to Donald in feu-farm,[5] and thus parted for ever with estates which, since their

1 Chiefs of Grant, I., 127. 2 Ibid, I., 143.
3 See Agreement in Chiefs of Grant, III., 158.
4 Ibid, III., 176—footnote. 5 Ibid, I., 177.

acquisition in 1547, had only served to involve his family in trouble and expense.

Of the connection of the Grants of Glenmoriston with the lands apprised to them there is not so much to tell. Iain Mor died a few weeks after he obtained his charter, and until the year 1611, when his grandson, Iain Mor a' Chaisteil, was served heir therein,[1] no attempt appears to have been made to preserve even the semblance of a right to them. Iain Mor a' Chaisteil's title was duly recorded, but the old possessors continued to keep a firm grip of the soil; and in time the Lairds of Glenmoriston tacitly surrendered a right which they were utterly unable to enforce.

The death of John Grant, first of Glenmoriston—or "of Culcabock," as he was better known in his own day—occurred in 1548,[2] his brother of Corrimony having predeceased him in 1533.[3] A man of great energy and prudence, whose counsel was much sought by his neighbours, he attained to a position of great influence and power, and, in the end, died the proud proprietor of Glenmoriston, Culcabock, Knockintional (on which the Inverness Barracks now stand), the Haugh, Carron, Wester Elchies, and Kinchurdie in Strathspey, and the holder of less substantial rights in the Western Highlands. His first wife was

1 Origines Parochiales, II., 396.

2 He is said to have died in September, 1548 (Chiefs of Grant, I., 522); but he was alive in October of that year (p. 109, *supra*). He was dead before 9th December, when the ward of his lands of Culcabock was given to James Grant of Freuchie (Antiquarian Notes, 354).

3 Chiefs of Grant, I., 515.

Elizabeth, or Isabella, Innes, daughter of Walter Innes, and grand-daughter of Sir Robert Innes of that Ilk, by whom he had one daughter, Isabella. Divorcing her, he entered into a union with Agnes, daughter of William Fraser, son of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat. This lady and himself were within the forbidden degrees of affinity; and so, with the object of removing the impediment and giving their children the status of legitimacy, he obtained, in 1544, a papal dispensation absolving her and himself from the crime of incest, enjoining on them a "salutary penance," granting liberty to solemnise their marriage in face of the Church, and declaring their children legitimate, whether born or to be born.[1] Of the union thus sanctioned by the Pope there was at least one son, Patrick, who succeeded his father in his whole possessions, except Carron and Wester Elchies, which were respectively left to Iain Mor's natural sons, John Roy, and James.[2]

The precautions taken in connection with the marriage of Iain Mor and Agnes Fraser secured the succession to Patrick. No sooner was the old laird laid in his grave than John Grant of Ballindalloch applied to the Queen for a grant of Glenmoriston, on the ground that he had died without lawful heirs male, and that the estate had therefore fallen to the Crown. The application was granted, apparently without enquiry into the allegations on which it was based, and a royal charter was issued in favour of

1 See the dispensation, in Invernessiana, 217.
2 Chiefs, I., 522.

Ballindalloch and his wife Barbara Gordon on 4th March, 1548—or 1549, according to modern computation.[1] Young Patrick's half-brothers, however, stoutly resisted this attempt to rob him of his inheritance, and a feud arose, in course of which Ballindalloch was slain. His claims were taken up by his son without success. In 1556, Patrick was served heir to Iain Mor in the Barony of Glenmoriston, and three years later he completed his title to Culcabock and the other Inverness possessions.[2]

John Grant, Seumas nan Creach's son and successor, was served heir to his father in the estate of Urquhart in October, 1553.[3] Under the charter of 1509 a double feu-duty was payable to the Crown on his entry; but the Glen still suffered from the effects of the Great Raid, and on 6th April, 1554, the payment was remitted.[4] John's estates were, indeed, still a prey to neighbouring clans. To enable him more effectually to punish offenders, Mary of Guise, Queen

1 Reg. Mag. Sig. 2 Chiefs of Grant, I., 522.

3 Seumas nan Creach left a will and an inventory of his moveable estate, both written in Latin by Mr James Farquharson, priest of Urquhart. The farm of Kil St Ninian, which extended from Abriachan to Drumbuie, was in his own hands, and the stock, &c., thereon consisted of 80 bolls of oats, valued at £80 Scots, including fodder; 8½ bolls of barley, worth, with fodder, £16; 20 plough oxen *(boves arabiles)*, valued at £40; 20 great cattle, valued at £40; 8 young cattle, two and three-year-old, worth £6 8s; 5 calves, £2; 64 "wild," or unbroken mares, worth £214 6s 8d; 18 foals, valued at £27; and certain household effects and farm plenishing. It was at Kil St Ninian (Temple-House), that the Lairds of Grant's tenants paid their money rent, and delivered the rent which they paid in kind. Hence it was called the *Grange* of Kil St Ninian as early as 1513.

4 Chiefs of Grant, I., 127.

Regent, appointed him Justiciar of the Crown within the bounds of Strathspey, Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and Strathdoun—bounds which his commission describes as filled with "divers homicides, murders, thefts, oppressions or sornings, reset of theft, and open or strong-handed rapine . . . to the extreme depredation and destruction of our poor and faithful lieges who inhabit the same."[1] The Justiciar entered on his duties with vigour—in one instance causing certain evildoers, whom he could not apprehend "quick," to be brought in dead, and presenting their heads to the Queen Regent, at Inverness.[2]

It was during these troublous times that the doctrines of the Reformation began to create a spirit of unrest among the Scottish people. The work of the Reformers was greatly facilitated by the unworthy lives of some of the clergy. Among the dignitaries who helped to bring disgrace and disaster on the old establishment was Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray. On him the vow of celibacy lay lightly; and for his numerous illegitimate children he made ample worldly provision by alienating the ancient heritage of the Church. Having, as far back as 1544,[3] disposed of Abriachan to Hugh, Lord Lovat, he resolved to deal in the same manner with its companion estate of Achmonie. That property was let to John Mac Gillies, or Mackay, and his wife, Katherine Ewen Canycht, for nineteen years from

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 116.
2 Invernessiana, 224. 3 Reg. Morav., 410.

Whitsunday, 1554.[1] But the events that culminated in the Reformation were moving rapidly, and before the expiry of the first three years of the lease, Mackay became owner of the estate. Having paid "a certain great sum of money in advance," and undertaken to pay annually a feu-duty exceeding by the sum of £2 4s 6d the rent previously paid, he got a charter from the Bishop on 6th May, 1557, conveying the old property, "with the brew-house [*brasina*] thereof called Kilmichael," and including Kilmichael, Garabeg, Wester Ballachraggan, Drumcore, Breakrie-riach and Rivoulich on the borders of Abriachan, and their hill grounds to the marches of Kiltarlity, to himself and his wife and the survivor of them in liferent, and to their son Duncan and his heirs male in fee.[2] The other Church lands in Urquhart fell to the Laird of Grant. In 1556 Mary, Queen of Scots, presented Sir John Donaldson to the chaplainry of St Ninian, and the lands of Pitkerrald Chapel, and the crofts of St Drostan, St Adamnan, and St Ninian; and gave him the custody of the sacred relics of St Drostan.[3] It was the last exercise of the right of patronage in our Parish under the ancient rule. In 1560 the old Church was overthrown. For its temporal possessions there was a great scramble among those who had

1 See lease—Appendix C. A curious error occurs in the abstract of the lease printed in the Register of Moray (p. 393), where Katherine Ewen Canycht—*i.e.*, Katherine, daughter of Ewen the Merchant—is called Katherine, Lady (Domina) Carrycht. The error is repeated in the notice of the charter to the Mackays in 1557 (p. 394). Ewen Canycht's name appears among the sufferers in the Great Raid of 1545.

2 See charter—Appendix D.

3 See presentation and relative writs, in Chiefs of Grant, III., 121-4.

helped in its destruction, and the Laird of Grant, who was a member of the Parliament which passed the Act of Abolition, was not behind his associates in securing his reward. He quietly appropriated the patrimony of the priests in Urquhart; and the lands which had for ages borne the holy names of the arch-angel Michael, and St Cyril, and St Drostan, and St Adamnan, and St Ninian, were for ever lost to the sacred purposes for which they were gifted by pious men of old.[1]

1 There were "Kirk lands" in Glenmoriston as late as 1572 (Register of Assignations, in Advocates' Library). These lands were subsequently appropriated by the Lairds of Glenmoriston.

CHAPTER VII

1560—1626

The Camerons and Clan Ranald plan another Raid.—Mackintosh and Mackenzie of Kintail ordered to protect the Parish.—League of Loyalty to Queen Mary.—The Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston in Arms for her.—Their March into the South.—Urquhart Feu-duties applied toward the Queen's Maintenance in Lochleven Castle.—Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston invades Ardclach.—He marries the Thane of Cawdor's Daughter.—The Thane builds Invermoriston House.—Iain Mor a' Chaisteil of Glenmoriston.—His Combat with an Englishman.—His Fir Candles in London.—His Influence and Acquisitions.—Appointed Chamberlain of Urquhart.—He murders a Packman.—Criminal Letters against him.—Feud between the Macdonalds and the Mackenzies.—The Raid of Kilchrist.—The Conflict of Lon-na-Fala.—Allan of Lundie's Leap.—The Murder of the Mason of Meall-a'-Ghro.—Bonds of Friendship between the Laird of Grant, and Glengarry, and Allan of Lundie.—A Big Timber Transaction.—The Laird saves Allan.

In the olden times the wild inhabitants of Lochaber and the country of Clan Ranald looked on the fair reaches of Urquhart and Glenmoriston as a legitimate field for cateran adventure as often as the depleted glens were again fairly filled with cattle. It was to those Western reivers that the "laying waste" referred to in the Exchequer accounts of 1478 and 1479 was greatly due. We saw them clearing Urquhart in 1513, and again in 1545.

They now began to think of another foray. Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, who took so prominent a part in the Great Raid, died about the year 1554, leaving his estates to his brother Donald Dubh, who, in his turn, was succeeded by his nephew, Allan. Allan was a mere child, and his grand-uncles, Ewen Cameron of Erracht, and John Cameron of Kin-Lochiel, constituted themselves leaders of the clan, and, as a bid for popular favour, prepared to invade our Parish in conjunction with their old allies the Clan Ranald. A hint of their design, however, reached the Laird of Grant, and he lost no time in seeking the protection of the Crown as his feudal superior. His appeal was not made in vain. Signet letters, charging the chiefs of Mackintosh and Kintail to assist him in defending the menaced lands, were issued on 1st March, 1567, in name of King James the Sixth, whose mother was now a prisoner in Lochleven Castle.

"Forasmuch," says this writ,[1] "as it is humbly complained and shown to us by our lovite John Grant of Freuchie, that whereas he has the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, with their pertinents, pertaining to him in feu-farm, heritably holden of us, as his infeftment thereupon purports; and as he is credibly informed divers wicked persons of the Clan Ranald and Clan Cameron, conspired and confederated together, intend shortly to make incursions upon the said John's lands, and to burn, harry, and

[1] The spelling is here modernised. See Chiefs of Grant, III., 132, for the writ in its original form.

destroy his poor tenants and inhabitants thereof, wherethrough the same shall be all laid waste and desolate, not only to his great skaith and damage, but to the hurt and detriment of us, the said lands being of our property, which, being harried and laid waste, we will want the feu mails [rents or duties] thereof;[1] which limmars and wicked persons, notwithstanding, would not be able to execute their malice and cruelty if the great men and clans adjacent to the said lands would concur with the said John's tenants in their defence when they are invaded, as they in no way will without compulsion: our will is herefore, and we charge you [*i.e.*, the messengers or officers of the law] straitly, and command, that, immediately these our letters are seen, ye pass, and in our name and authority command and charge Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, and all others of the Clan Chattan and Clan Kenzie, that they, at all times when the said John Grant's lands foresaid shall be invaded or pursued by the said limmars and wicked persons, rise, pass forth, and defend the same with all possible diligence, and in no way suffer or permit the said lands, or his tenants dwelling thereon, to be oppressed, sorned, harried, burnt, or destroyed by them, as they will answer upon their duty and obedience to us: with certification to them, if they be found remiss or negligent therein, they shall be reputed, holden, called, and pursued as partakers, fortifiers, and maintainers of the said limmars and

[1] The feu duties were remitted after the raid of 1545. See p. 105, *supra*.

wicked persons in their cruelty and evil deeds, and shall be punished therefor as if they had committed the crimes themselves in their own proper persons."

The choice of the Mackintoshes and the Mackenzies as defenders of the Parish was a singularly happy one. The Clan Kenneth had for some generations been gradually extending their name and sway on the West Coast, and there were, at the time at which we have now arrived, territorial disputes of a serious nature between themselves and the Camerons and Clan Ranald. In like manner the Clan Chattan had grave questions to settle with the race of Lochiel in connection with the possession of Glenluie and Loch-Arkaig; and with the Keppoch branch of Clan Ranald in connection with certain lands in Brae-Lochaber. There was thus, notwithstanding the formal style of the signet letters, no great "compulsion" required to set the Mackintoshes and the Mackenzies at the throats of the would-be invaders. Happily the confederates recognised the fact, and shrank from their threatened enterprise. Urquhart and Glenmoriston were spared; and the moral if not active aid given by the Chief of Kintail was duly rewarded in 1570, when he received in marriage the Laird of Grant's daughter, whose dower was her father's territory in Lochbroom.

Mary, Queen of Scots, who, as we have seen, was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle when the letters for the defence of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were issued in name of her infant son, was soon forced to abdicate in his favour, and to nominate her half brother, the Earl of Moray, Regent during his

minority. The sympathies of the men of the North were, however, with the ill-fated Queen, and these measures did not meet with their approval. In 1568, the Earl of Huntly, the Laird of Grant, Ross of Balnagown, Munro of Fowlis, the Laird of Mackintosh, William Fraser of Struy, and certain others subscribed a solemn obligation to "defend the Queen's Majesty, our sovereign, in her authority, as faithful and true subjects ought to do to their native princess, and to acknowledge no other usurped authority."[1] In May of that year the Queen escaped from Lochleven, and, on her defeat at Langside, fled into England; but Huntly still held out for her, and with an army in which were the Laird of Grant, Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, John Grant of Corrimony, William Grant in Borlum, John Grant in Cartaly, and Alexander *alias* Alasdair Grant in Urquhart, followed doubtless by the youth and valour of our Parish, went through the country with "displayit baneris"—now marching through the streets of Inverness, now disturbing the sober citizens of Aberdeen, or creating terror among the peaceable inhabitants of Fetteresso and the Haugh of Meikleour.[2] But the Queen's cause was not to prosper, and these displays were of no avail. Huntly surrendered to the Regent at St Andrews in May, 1569; the Laird of Grant submitted at Aberdeen on 7th June; his example was speedily followed by Glenmoriston and Corrimony

1 Miscellany of Spalding Club, IV., 156.
2 Chiefs of Grant, III., 137.

and their followers; and on 9th July a remission or pardon was issued in name of the young King to the Laird and his clan, including the Urquhart and Glenmoriston Grants who have just been mentioned.[1] The Queen's supporters bowed to the inevitable, and the unhappy lady, cast into prison by Elizabeth of England, on whose compassion she had thrown herself, was kept in weary confinement until, after the lapse of nineteen years, the headsman's axe put an end to her sufferings on the black scaffold of Fotheringay.[2]

While Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston did what he could for his Queen, he did not forget his own interests. In 1564 Bishop Hepburn granted the lands of Farness and Atnach, in the barony of Ardclach, to John Wood of Tillidivie. These lands,

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 137.

2 Our Parish is otherwise associated in an interesting manner with the last days of Mary in Scotland. During her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the sum of £172 was assigned out of the feu-duties of Urquhart and Glenmoriston and other Crown lands held by the Laird of Grant, to meet her expenses there. In reference to this, the Regent wrote as follows to the Laird on 23rd August, 1569:—

"Richt Traist freynd, efter hertlie commendatioun: Forsamekle as the tyme the Quene, moder to our Souerane Lord, remaryt in Lochlevin, thair wes assignit to ane part of the furnessing and prouisioun of her house, the soume of ane hundreth three scoir twelf pundis money of the fewmales [feu-mails or feu-duties] of the lands of Vrquhart, Glenmoreistoun and vtheris the Kingis landis, quhairof ye ar fewair; and seeing our brother, the Lard of Lochlevin, maid the expenssis and yit wanttis the pament, it is our will, and we desire yow that ye faill not to deliuer the said sowme of jc. lxxij. li. to our said brother, the Lard of Lochlevin, or ony in his name, presentar of this letter to yow, and the same sowme salbe thankfullie diffesit . . ."

The payment was in the same month made to William Douglas of Lochlevin, whose receipt, with the above letter, is still preserved at Castle Grant.

apparently, were in the possession of Glenmoriston's illegitimate brother, John Roy of Carron, who held them by *duchas*, or unwritten hereditary title, and who had acquired what right he had from his father, Iain Mor. John quietly gave them up to Wood; but Glenmoriston conceived that he had an interest in them as his father's heir, and, by way of asserting his right, invaded the disputed territory on its sale to Hugh Rose of Kilravock in 1567, and slew and harried the tenants. After "much jarring," the matter was referred to the judgment of Lord Lovat and John Gordon of Carnborrow, who decided in favour of Kilravock and ordained the Laird of Grant, as Glenmoriston's chief, to put an end to the broils in order that Rose might enjoy the lands in peace.[1]

Patrick married Beatrice, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Cawdor, with whom he is said to have become acquainted while attending the then noted school of Petty. Tradition tells that her father, visiting the young couple at *Tom-an-t-Sabhail*,[2] was so affected with the meanness of their wicker dwelling that he offered to build them a house at Invermoriston, more befitting the daughter of the Thane of Cawdor. The offer was accepted; skilled workmen were imported from the Thane's country; and Patrick and his wife removed to Invermoriston, which has ever since been the family seat.[3]

1 Reg. Morav., 405; Family of Kilravock (Spalding Club), 77.

2 Barn-hill—a knoll on the south side of the river Moriston, opposite Duldreggan.

3 Before the mansion-house was built on its present site there was probably a tower on Torran-an-Tur (Tower Hill) at Invermoriston.

Patrick, from whom his successors took the patronymic Mac Phadruig, or Mac 'Ic Phadruig, died in 1581, and was succeeded by his son John, who soon became one of the most prominent men of his time in the Highlands of Scotland. Like his grandfather, he was a man of great stature, and, like him, too, he was known as *Iain Mor*—Big John—to which the words *a' Chaisteil*—of the Castle—were subsequently added, in allusion to the part he took in adding to and strengthening the house of Invermoriston. Of Iain Mor a' Chaisteil's marvellous strength local seanachies have not yet ceased to tell. During a visit to Edinburgh, says one tradition, he was tempted to enter the lists against an English champion, whose insulting challenge no one else had the courage to accept. At the outset the combatants, as was customary, shook hands, when, to the amazement of the spectators, Iain Mor crushed the Englishman's hand into a jelly, and so ended his boasting.

At another time, when he was in London,[1] some one sneeringly referred in his presence to the "fir-candles" of his native Glen—

> "Gleanna mìn Moireastuinn,
> Far nach ith na coin na coinnlean!" [2]

The Laird retorted by defying the scoffer to produce in London a more elegant candlestick, or more brilliant lights, than he could bring from his Highland estate. A wager followed, and Iain

[1] He was in London in 1631 and 1632.

[2] "Glenmoriston the smooth, where the dogs cannot eat the candles!"

Mor despatched a servant to the North with a message for the stalwart Iain Mac Eobhain Bhain—a Glenmoriston bard distinguished alike for keen wit and manly beauty. At the appointed time Iain Mor's opponent appeared with a magnificent silver candelabrum furnished with the finest of wax candles. Glenmoriston had no such work of art to show; but on a given signal the bard stepped into the chamber, dressed in Highland garb, and holding aloft blazing torches of the richest pines of Corri-Dho. The effect on the astonished spectators was even greater than the proud Glenmoriston had ventured to hope, and he was declared the victor with acclamation.

Iain Mor a' Chaisteil's temperament and character suited the rough times in which he lived, and he early acquired great influence among his contemporaries. In disputes between his neighbour-lairds he was constantly appealed to. He was one of the justices and commissioners appointed by King James the Sixth in 1592 to suppress disorders among the Clan Ranald;[1] and in 1622 he was employed in a similar capacity against Lochiel.[2] He extended his territorial possessions by acquiring the forest of Clunie and Glenloyne in wadset from the Laird of Grant;[3] by obtaining a similar title in July, 1624,[4] to certain lands in Urquhart, including Balmacaan, where he had already resided for a

1 See the Commission, in Chiefs of Grant, III., 181.
2 Ibid., 335. 3 Ibid., 427.
4 Memorandum, dated 1681, at Castle Grant.

number of years; and by acquiring in the same year the lands of Pitkerrald, which, however, he only held for a short time. To add to his influence, the Laird of Grant appointed him chamberlain and baron-bailie of Urquhart—an office which made him virtual master of the whole Parish, and placed the lives and fortunes of its inhabitants in his hand.

Iain Mor's power and influence notwithstanding, his name has come down to us associated with as mean a murder as was ever committed by a man of his position. In September, 1602, Donald Mac Finlay Vic Norosiche, "merchant"—one of those travelling traders who in past days ministered to the wants of the country people—was passing through Glenmoriston on his way to or from Kintail. With Finlay Mac Iain Roy, residing at Invermoriston, and Alexander Dubh Mac Iain Roy, his brother, Big John of the Castle waylaid the humble packman "upone the landis of Glenmoriestoun," bound his hands behind his back, carried him as "ane male-factour" into a wood, where, "as hangmen," they hanged him on a tree, and so "wirriet him to deid"—strangled him to death. Then cutting down the quivering body, they "with thair durkis gaif him dyverse straikis in the breist and bellie, to the effusione of his blood in grit quantitie;" and, having thus despatched their victim, they placed the body beneath a "burn-brae"—the overhanging bank of a stream—pressed down the earth upon it, and so buried it out of sight.

Tidings of the dastardly deed soon reached the ears of the murdered man's friends in Kintail, and his brother, Finlay Mac Finlay Vic Norosyche, resolved to bring the perpetrators to justice. But the law was slow to move against a Highland chieftain in the olden time, and twenty long years vanished into the past before Finlay had the satisfaction of seeing its cumbrous machinery in motion. At last, criminal letters at the instance of himself and Sir William Oliphant, the Lord Advocate, were served on Glenmoriston and his accomplices; and, on 2nd July, 1623, the cause was called in Edinburgh, before Alexander Colville, Justice-Depute. The accused, however, failed to appear, and their surety, Patrick Grant of Carron, was ordained to pay a fine of 700 merks, being 500 in respect of Iain Mor's non-appearance, and 100 for the absence of each of his associates.[1] And with this payment the outraged majesty of the law was appeased. Big John not only moved about free and unmolested, but made his way to Court, and found favour with the King;[2] while Finlay Mac Finlay Vic Norosyche was left to meditate in the solitudes of Kintail on the evils summed up in his own Gaelic proverb, *Is cam 's is direach an lagh*—Crooked as well as straight is the law.

Our Parish was soon to be the scene of a greater tragedy than the murder of the merchant of Kintail. We have seen how, in 1600, the Laird of Grant finally gave up to Macdonald of Glengarry his right

1 Pitcairn's Criminal Trials. 2 See next chapter.

to the lands of Strome; and reference has been made to the disputes that arose between the Clan Ranald and the Mackenzies regarding their possessions on the West Coast. These disputes had now ripened into a deadly feud. In 1602 the Mackenzies wrested the castle of Strome from the Macdonalds, who, under the leadership of Allan Dubh, the young son and heir of Ranald Mac Ranald of Lundie, resolved to have their revenge. Allan began by travelling through the Mackenzie country in the guise of a pedlar; and having thus made himself acquainted with the scenes of his intended operations, he, in September, 1603, led a party of Glengarrymen into the district of Redcastle. Tradition relates how he arrived on a Sunday morning at the church of Kilchrist, and, finding it full of Mackenzies, quickly surrounded it with his men, and set it on fire; and how the distracted worshippers, as they endeavoured to escape, were received on the swords and dirks of the Macdonalds, whose piper strutted to and fro, playing an impromptu pibroch, which, under the name of "Kilchrist," has ever since been the war-tune of Glengarry. Allan, as a matter of course, lifted cattle and gave houses to the flames—burning even the minister's "librarie and buikes"—and then retired by Beauly and Glenconvinth with a booty of horses and cattle.

On his way through Glen-Urquhart he rested his men and spoil on the level moss at the base of Meal-fuarvonie, which for ages furnished the people of Wester Bunloit with their winter's fuel. But his

repose was short. Like the fiery cross, the flames of Kilchrist drew the Mackenzies from far and near; and a large number were soon on the track of the Glengarrymen. As the Mackenzies rounded the south-eastern shoulder of Mealfuarvonie, they saw the Macdonalds on the plain below—ever since known by the name of Lon-na-Fala, the Meadow of Blood—and swooped down upon them with shouts of revenge. For a time the Glengarrymen bravely withstood the onslaught; but they were weary and outnumbered, and Allan Mac Ranald had to seek safety in flight, leaving the bulk of his followers dead or dying. Wounded and weak, and pursued by his enemies, he darted across the moor in the direction of Loch Ness, until, after a run of about half a mile, he suddenly found himself on a spur of the rock of Craig Giubhais, from which there was apparently no escape. To the left, and overhanging the shores of the loch, was the precipitous face of the Craig, which it was impossible to descend alive; to the right, and curving round in front of him, yawned the wide and deep gorge through which the burn of Allt-Giubhais forces its way; behind, the eager Mackenzies were at his very heels. Allan had but a moment for decision. Retracing his steps for a few paces, he again flew towards the gorge, and, bounding across it, landed safely on a pretty green slope which is known as Ruidhe-a'-Bhada-Ghiubhais. His foremost pursuer attempted to follow; but his toes barely touched the opposite bank, and, falling backwards, he seized a young tree, to which he clung for his life.

Quick as thought Allan turned back, and with one stroke of his sword severed the strained sapling, and sent the brave Mackenzie to the bottom, a mangled corpse. "I have left much with your race to-day," said he to his victim, as he struck the plant—"I have left much with your race to-day, let me leave them that also."[1]

But Allan was not yet out of danger. The Mackenzies, seeing the fate of their too daring companion, retreated for a few yards up the stream, and crossed it at Beala-nan-Clach—the Stony Ford. Down the steep and wooded slopes of Ruiskich, Allan and his pursuers went until they reached Loch Ness. Plunging in, Mac Ranald swam away from his disappointed enemies, and was picked up by Fraser of Foyers, who had seen him enter the water. From Foyers he found his way to an island in his own Loch Lundie, where he concealed himself. In time the Mackenzies came to know of his retreat, and a large company of them marched to Glengarry, carrying with them a boat of the light description known in Gaelic as *coit*. Fording the river Moriston at Wester Inverwick, they rested at the rock still called Craig-a'-Choit—the Rock of the Boat—and then crossed the mountains to Loch Lundie. They launched their *coit* and searched the island; but Allan had been warned of their approach, and was now in the

[1] By the Glen-Urquhart people the chasm is called Leum a' Cheannaiche—the Merchant's Leap—in allusion to the character assumed by Mac Ranald. In Glenmoriston it is called Leum Ailein Mhic Raonail—Allan Mac Ranald's Leap.

recesses of Meall-a'-Ghro, where, with the assistance of a friendly mason, he made himself a place of shelter between two ledges of a rock.[1]

The dangers through which he had passed, and the hardships which he had endured, made him suspicious even of his solitary companion; and when the lowly hut was finished, he struck off the mason's head as he crawled out on all-fours. Allan escaped the vengeance of the Mackenzies, but he was ever after the victim of remorse. "For the burning of Kilchrist," said he, "I hope for pardon; but I cannot meet at the Judgment the faithful friend whom I treacherously slew on Meall-a'-Ghro."

We have seen that the proprietors of Urquhart early realised the wisdom of forming alliances with their troublesome Western neighbours. The policy which led the Bard to enter into a bond of friendship with Lochiel in 1520 was followed by his grandson, who concluded a somewhat similar treaty with Angus Mac Alasdair of Glengarry in 1571. By this latter contract Glengarry obliged himself to cause his son, Donald Mac Angus 'Ic Alasdair, to marry the Laird of Grant's daughter, Helen, and to deliver to the Laird "ane sufficient bond of manrent quhilk maye justlie stand by the law of this realme," and by which Glengarry and his successors and

1 The traditional account here given of the invasion of Glengarry by the Mackenzies is not without truth. The first Lord Cromartie records that his grandfather, Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigeach, tutor or guardian to Colin, second Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, "invaded Glengarry, who was again recollecting his forces, but at his coming they dissipat and fled. He pursued Glengarry to Blairy in Moray, where he took him"—that is, Blairy in Glenmoriston in the Province of Moray.—Fraser's Earls of Cromartie, p. xxxi.

kindred would be bound to serve Grant and his heirs in their quarrels, and especially to protect the lands and inhabitants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The treaty was renewed with Donald Mac Angus in 1597, and again in 1600, when Grant made over to him in feu-farm the castle and lands of Strome. At the time of the Raid of Kilchrist Glengarry was thus in the position of vassal to Grant; while Grant was on the other hand feudally bound to protect Glengarry and his kinsmen of Lundie, "as becumis ane superiour to do to his wassall."[1] Allan Mac Ranald's exploits at Kilchrist called for the superior's intervention; but the wily proprietor of Urquhart set himself, not to bring the offender to justice, but to befriend him and his family, and so to bring them all the more effectually under his own influence and control. On 23rd July, 1606, Allan and his father met the Laird at Balmacaan, and signed a bond of mutual assistance and defence, by which they bound themselves to serve and assist Allan Cameron of Lochiel, who was also present, in such manner as Grant might "command or bid them by word or writ."[2] The friendship with the Lundies was carefully fostered by the Laird during the rest of his life, and by his son, Sir John Grant, who succeeded him. Allan Mac Ranald and Sir John strengthened the alliance by entering into an interesting mercantile transaction. The family of Lundie possessed woods in Morar of great natural value, but which were utterly

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 197. 2 Chiefs of Grant, III., 203.

unprofitable in consequence of the ravages of thieving neighbours, and of the difficulty of getting merchants to risk their lives in the attempt to cut down and remove the timber. Sir John had experience as a seller of timber on his own well-wooded estates; and he resolved to try his fortune with the woods of Morar. In 1622, the lands which these covered were let to him by Allan and his father on a lease for thirty-one years, while he undertook to cut down the timber gradually, to bring it to market, and to pay Allan and his heirs "the tua part" (one half) of the price to be obtained for it.[1]

Among those who suffered from the evil deeds of the Macdonalds at Kilchrist was Mr John Mackenzie, minister of Killearnan; and no sooner was Allan placed in possession of his family estate than the minister took steps to obtain some satisfaction for his losses. Letters were issued at the instance of himself and the Lord Advocate charging Lundie with having slain several of the minister's tenants on the lands of Kilchrist; burnt and destroyed twenty-seven dwelling-houses thereon, with the barns, byres, and kilns belonging thereto; burnt and destroyed the reverend gentleman's whole library and books, with 400 bolls of oats and 160 bolls of bear belonging to him; and stolen seventy oxen and other cattle, and nine horses, including the minister's own best horse. Mac Ranald's part in the raid was too notorious to admit of defence, and he refrained from appearing in court. In his

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 425.

absence—on 28th July, 1622—his property and possessions were forfeited, and himself declared an outlaw.[1] The Laird of Grant saved him from the consequences. He instantly purchased the "escheat" —that is, the forfeited estate and effects—from the Crown, and left Allan in possession; and in 1626 the latter acknowledged his indebtedness to the friendly knight in a bond of manrent by which he bound himself and his heirs to be leal and true to the Lairds of Grant for ever. And so the sun continued to shine on Allan Dubh Mac Ranald, and, so far as the world could see, he lived and died not much the worse for the Burning of Kilchrist or the Murder of the Mason of Meall-a'-Ghro.[2]

1 Chiefs of Grant, I., 222.

2 Sir William Fraser questions the truth of the story of the burning of the church—(Chiefs of Grant, I., 222); and Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town Clerk of Inverness, has made a very able, if not altogether successful, effort to free his clansman's memory from the stain of sacrilege—(Transactions of Inverness Gaelic Society, XV., 11-34).

CHAPTER VIII

1603—1640

The Proscribed Macgregors seek Shelter in Urquhart and Glenmoriston.—Their Harbourers Fined.—Their Evil Influence on the Men of Urquhart.—Doule Shee's Raid.—Commission of Fire and Sword.—Housebreaking at Balmacaan.—The Carron and Ballindalloch Feud.—Career of Seumas an Tuim.—His Supporters in Urquhart and Glenmoriston.—The Castle Repaired.—The Clan Chattan in Urquhart.—Their Friends Prosecuted.—The Earl of Moray persecutes Grant of Glenmorison.—Grant visits the King, and His Majesty Intervenes.—Death of Glenmoriston and the Laird of Grant.—The Story of the Covenant.—The Covenant subscribed by the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston.—Opposed by the Parish Minister and Lady Mary Ogilvy, Liferentrix of Urquhart.—A Short Conflict.—The Minister Yields.—Attempts to stent Urquhart for the Army of the Covenant.—Lady Mary's Concessions.

During the early years of the seventeenth century, the Laird of Grant and his tenants and clansmen fell into trouble in connection with the proscribed Clan Gregor, whose wrongs and sufferings are still the theme of many a plaintive Gaelic song. Before the beginning of that century the Macgregors had for generations held possessions in the Southern Highlands in virtue of the unwritten right of *duchas*. With their neighbours, the Campbells, the Colquhouns, and the Grahams, they had been at constant strife. Many enormities were laid

to their charge, and the long list reached its height in 1603, when, in the pass of Glenfruin, they swooped down on Colquhoun of Luss, and slew two hundred of his vassals and tenants, besides many gentlemen and burgesses of the burgh of Dumbarton. Tidings of the carnage, evidenced by the production of eleven score blood-stained shirts taken off the bodies of the slain, soon reached the King; and the utter destruction of the offending race was resolved on. They were prohibited from meeting together, or using the name of Macgregor. To harbour or shelter them was made a crime. The Earl of Argyll, armed with a royal commission to extirpate them, scoured their glens and hill-sides with his vassals and allies, and hunted them down like deer. For a time they defended themselves and their families and flocks with surpassing valour. But in the end the superior numbers of their foes prevailed, and the wretched remnant who survived adopted other names, and sought refuge in distant parts of the Highlands. With the Grants the unfortunate people had from early times been united by the ties of clanship—both races were, according to their seanachies, branches of the ancient Clan Alpin—and to the territories of the Grants they now flocked. Although the relationship rested on the haziest of traditions, it was sacredly respected, and the inhabitants of Strathspey and Urquhart and Glenmoriston gave willing shelter to the homeless strangers. They suffered for their hospitality. Commissioners were appointed to discover and punish the harbourers of the dispersed Mac-

gregors; and among those who were found guilty and heavily fined were the Laird of Grant; Archibald Grant, brother of the Laird of Glenmoriston; James Grant in Pitkerrald; Patrick Grant, son of the Laird of "Breyis" (the Braes, or Corrimony); Alasdair Roy Grant in Shewglie; John Mac Iain Mullich, Officer in Urquhart; Donald Og Mac Iain Mullich in Polmaily; and John Cearr Mac Donald Mac-Donachie Mac Gillespick, Hucheon Mac Iain Donachie, Duncan Mac Iain Mullich, and Duncan Mac Iain Glas, all described as "in Urquhart;" as well as many in Strathspey.[1]

Taking advantage of the law which in those times made chiefs responsible for the conduct of their people, Argyll called upon the Laird of Grant to pay not only his own fine but also those inflicted on his clansmen and dependants. The Laird admitted his liability, but disputed the amount. Recourse was had to arbitration, and on 3rd February, 1615, the total amount to be paid by the Laird for himself and his friends and tenants was fixed at 16,000 merks,[2] and that enormous sum was paid before the end of the month.[3]

The evil habits of the Macgregors, on whose account this heavy fine was incurred, had a baneful influence on their protectors in our Parish. During their many years of strife and struggle as the

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 315.

2 A merk was equal to 13s 4d.

3 See receipt therefor in Chiefs of Grant, III., 316. The Laird doubtless collected their shares of the amount from the other harbourers of the Macgregors.

Ishmaelites of the Highlands, they became expert and daring in the appropriation and destruction of their neighbours' property; and the men of Urquhart soon began to follow their example. On 13th July, 1614, a Glen-Urquhart man, of the name of Dugald Grant, but better known as Doule Shee—Dugald of Peace—in sarcastic allusion, probably, to his character as a man of strife, made a raid along with Thomas Calder in Delnie, Alasdair Cain Mac Robbie in Urchine, and Lachlan Mac Lachlan Vic Donald Vic Iain Duy, on Colin Campbell of Clunes, near Nairn—burning his chambers, barns, and sheep-cot, houghing and slaying three mares and a horse, and committing other barbarities.[1] For these crimes Dugald and his associates were summoned to appear for trial, and, failing to do so, were put to the horn. A royal commission was issued to Robert Dunbar of Burgie, John Dunbar of Moynes, and George Munro of Tarrell, requiring them to bring the outlaws to justice, not only for their attack on Clunes, but also on the charge of doing "what in them lies to associate unto themselves all such of the disordered thieves and limmars and fugitives of the Highlands as they can foregather with, intending thereby, how soon their number shall increase to any reasonable company, then to maintain an open and avowed rebellion." The commissioners were authorised to raise the lieges, and pursue the accused with fire and sword, and to detain as many as should be apprehended "in sure

1 Thanes of Cawdor (Spalding Club), 227.

firmance and captivite," until justice should "be ministrat upon them."[1] Their operations are not recorded; but, so far at least as Doule Shee was concerned, they had no result. That worthy remained at large, and we find him years afterwards in the train of the famous outlaw, James Grant of Carron.

The men of Urquhart made their own Glen the scene of their next thieving adventure. In April, 1615, Balmacaan House, which at that time was occupied by the stalwart Iain Mor a' Chaisteil, Chamberlain and Baron-Bailie of Urquhart, was broken into, and fourteen locked chests forcibly opened, and their contents stolen. Patrick Grant of Divachmore, Duncan Grant in Wester Bunloit, James Mac Alasdair Vic Iain Oig in Inchbrine, and Ewen Mac Neil Vic Uian "in Little Clune," or Clunebeg— a member of the brave race who so strenuously opposed the Grants a century earlier—were accused of the crime, and cited by Glenmoriston to appear in Edinburgh to answer the charge. The case was called on 21st July, 1620, when Glenmoriston withdrew the complaint against Mac Uian, and declared him innocent. The others were ordered to be tried on the third day of the next justice-air, or circuit court, at Inverness; and John Grant, younger of Ballindalloch, who, bearing no love to Glenmoriston, interested himself in their defence, became bound for their due appearance.[2] At this stage we unfortunately lose sight of the proceedings, and whether the

[1] Thanes of Cawdor, 227. [2] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

accused were convicted, and hanged, as house-breakers were then wont to be, or whether they were acquitted, and restored to their friends, will probably never be ascertained.

We have seen how on the death of John Grant, first of Glenmoriston, an attempt was made by Grant of Ballindalloch to rob his young heir of his inheritance; how the boy's part was taken by his natural brother, John Roy of Carron; and how Ballindalloch lost his life in the quarrel. The feud thus begun between the families of Ballindalloch and Carron increased in fierceness as time passed, and at the period at which we have now arrived raged with murderous fury. In the year 1615, Thomas, son of Grant of Carron, was met at an Elgin fair by one of the Grants of Ballindalloch, and savagely assaulted. James Grant, another son of Carron, rushed to his brother's aid, and slew the assailant. Summoned before a court on the charge of murder, James refused to appear, and was outlawed. Placing himself at the head of a band of desperate men, he bade defiance to the authorities, and became the scourge of the Central Highlands. Ballindalloch and his possessions were the special objects of his attention; but he did not scruple to take other victims when opportunity offered or occasion required. John Grant of Glenmoriston, remembering how much his father and himself owed to the house of Carron, sheltered and befriended the outlaw and his band—"ane infamous byke of lawlesse lymmars," among whom were the son—aye,

and the wife, too—of Robert Finlay Mac Iain Roy in Glenmoriston, and the Urquhart veteran Doule Shee, with his sons Donald, John, and Ewen.[1]

James Grant, or Seumas an Tuim—James of the Hill—as he was commonly called, was at last seized by the Mackintoshes, who had themselves been released from outlawry on undertaking to effect his capture. Carried south, he was lodged in Edinburgh Castle to await his trial, but by means of a rope which his wife secretly sent him in a keg of butter, he got over the Castle wall and descended the rock; and, escaping into the Highlands, wandered for a time among his kinsmen in Glenmoriston, Glen-Urquhart, and Strathspey.[2] Returning to his old courses he, in November, 1634, seized young Ballindalloch near his own house, and kept him prisoner in a filthy kiln. This piece of good fortune he endeavoured to turn, not to his own advantage, but to that of the friends who had sheltered him in his fugitive days. He offered to set his captive free on condition that he would procure a pardon for Glenmoriston and his sons, and old Allan Mac Ranald of Lundie, who had all befriended him, and for all those who had harboured him on the estates of Grant, Glenmoriston, Lundie, Carron, and Huntly; that he would discharge a debt of 4000 merks due to him by Glenmoriston; and that he would obtain from the Earl of Moray a

1 Proclamation by the Privy Council, quoted in Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland (Spalding Club), I., 430.

2 See Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland, Vol. I., and Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, 414 *et seq.*, and 459, for the career of Carron.

discharge of 5000 merks due by Allan Mac Ranald to the Earl.[1] The prisoner declined the terms, and was detained; but in a few weeks he escaped through the treachery of one of his guards, with whom he is said to have conversed in Latin, and immediately lodged with the Government a complaint against the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston, in which he stated that the dreaded freebooter was then living among their tenants with their own connivance. The Laird of Grant was ordered to apprehend the outlaw, and he made a show of obedience. His heart was, however, not in the work, and James remained a free man until 1639, when he was pardoned by Charles the First. He was subsequently employed by the Marquis of Huntly in hunting down fugitive Macgregors, and thereafter in similar service against the Covenanters. In the end he is supposed to have died a natural death, after having for many years led a wild and lawless life, charmed, apparently, against all dangers.

The Laird of Grant entered, on 26th March, 1623, into a contract with James Moray, master mason, for the repair of the Castle of Urquhart.[2] The troubles of the times demanded that the old fortress should be put in order, for pillage and outrage

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 448.

2 Contract at Castle Grant. Moray's tombstone was unearthed at Kilmore, Glen-Urquhart, some twenty years ago. It bears the inscription—"Heir lyis aen onest man caled James Muray, wha departed this lyf . . . day of May, 1636—Mento Mori." It is the oldest stone with an inscription found in the churchyard, with the exception of one other, bearing the date 2nd March, 1621, but the inscription on which is not further legible.

flourished in the North, and Urquhart was soon to suffer. The Clan Chattan, quarrelling with the Earl of Moray, invaded and raided his estates; and, having thus acquired a taste for the work, they in 1624 extended the field of their operations, visiting Glen-Urquhart in their progress, and "taking thair mete and food perforce quher they culd not get it willingly, fra freindis allsweill as fra their faes." The Earl hastened to the King, and got himself appointed Lieutenant of the North, with authority to subdue the unruly clan and to fine and otherwise punish such as had harboured or aided them. Letters of intercommuning, prohibiting all persons from receiving, supplying, or entertaining them, under heavy penalties, were proclaimed at Inverness and other burghs. In a short time they surrendered and were offered pardon, on condition, as we have seen, that they should bring James of Carron to justice,[1] and on the further condition that they should furnish the Earl with the names of such as had sheltered or entertained themselves after the publication of the letters of intercommuning.[2] To these terms the ungrateful clan agreed, and Moray proceeded to enrich himself by exacting heavy fines from the benefactors they had betrayed. Among his victims was John Grant of Glenmoriston, on whose lands in Urquhart the Mackintoshes sorned in 1620. Glenmoriston refused to pay the heavy sums in which he was mulcted, and so persistent was Moray's

1 Mackintosh Shaw's Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, 316.
2 Memorialls of the Trubles, I., 7.

persecution of him that at last he journeyed to London to lay his case before the King.[1] All he demanded was a fair trial. The King listened to his complaint, and addressed a letter to the Scottish Privy Council, ordering them to take him bound to appear before themselves or any court they might consider competent, to answer the charges against him.[2]

The effect of the royal intervention was to put an end to the persecution to which Glenmoriston had so long been subjected; and he was soon able to come to an agreement with the Earl "quyetlie efter he had maide gryt travell and expenssis for his just defenss."[3] The trial which he had demanded never took place, and he was allowed to pass the few remaining years of his life in peace. He died before 31st March, 1637. His Chief, Sir John Grant, died on 1st April; and they thus both escaped the troubles that were about to overtake their country.

1 Memorialls of the Trubles, I., 9.

2 The King's letter is in the following terms:—"Charles R.—Right trustie and right welbeloved cousin and councellour, right trusty and welbeloved cousins and councellours, and right trustie and welbeloved councellors, wee greete yow well. Whereas John Grant of Glenmoriston hath long attended our Court, humblie craving of us that wee wold be pleased to give order that a course might be taken for his tryall, touching some imputationes wherewith wee were informed against him, who being willing to underly the law, and to that effect to be tryed either before the Justice Generall, or any other judicatorie yow shall think competent: Our pleasure is that yow tak sufficient suretie of him for his, his sonnes, brothers, and servants appearance before yow, or any judicatorie thought competent by yow, at such a day as you shall think fitt to prescribe, that he may enjoy the benefite of our lawes as is ordinarie in the like cases. Wee bid yow farewell. From our Court at Whitehall, the 21 of Aprile, 1632."

3 Memorialls of the Trubles, I., 9.

The story of Charles the First's unfortunate attempt to impose an obnoxious liturgy on the Scottish Church is well known. The tumult which Jennie Geddes' stool raised within the church of St Giles gradually developed into the great Civil War which brought about the fall of the Bishops, the execution of the King, and the subjugation of Scotland by Oliver Cromwell. James Grant, who had succeeded Sir John Grant, his father, as Laird of Grant, took the popular side against Charles—a side that at the outset was supported by almost all the nobles and landowners in Scotland.

In April, 1638, the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Lovat, Lord Reay, and Mr Andrew Cant, of noted memory, appeared at Inverness, and got the famous National Covenant, which had already been subscribed by thousands in the Lowlands, signed by "the haill toune except Mr Williame Clogie, minister at Innerniss, and sum few otheris"[1]—the town's crier proclaiming the obligation of signing, with the alternative of heavy penalties against all who were obstinate or hesitating.[2] The Laird of Grant and young Patrick Grant, who had now succeeded to Glenmoriston, threw their influence into the scale of the Covenant; but the people of our Parish were slow to follow their example, and the minister—Mr Alexander Grant—resented, and for a time resisted, the coercion exercised to procure his adhesion. But after the Glasgow General Assembly had abolished

1 Memorialls of the Trubles, I., 88.
2 Hill Burton's History of Scotland, VI., 205.

the Episcopal office, to which he was attached, he yielded to the pressure brought to bear on him, and signed the Covenant on 14th May, 1639. The cause which it represented was, however, without his sympathy, and it did not prosper among his people.

That cause had a sincere opponent in the Laird of Grant's mother, Dame Mary Ogilvy, who, since her husband's death, possessed Urquhart as liferent proprietrix,[1] and, with her younger children, resided in the Castle. Dame Mary—or Lady Ogilvy, as she was better known[2]—was strongly attached to the King and the Bishops. On the other hand, there was no great love between herself and her son; and she did what she could to counteract and render fruitless his efforts for the Covenant. In this course she doubtless had the approval of the minister of the Parish.

In 1640 a great Covenanting army entered England under General Leslie; and Major-General Munro, a fierce Ross-shire soldier, who had been

1 She possessed under contract, dated 21st June, 1634, between her husband and herself. He reserved to himself and his heirs the liberty to draw dams and passages to the ironworks in Urquhart, with liberty to put and build the said ironworks on the lands, provided he and his foresaids upheld the rental of the lands wherethrough and whereon the said dams, passages, and ironworks should be drawn and built. He also reserved the use of the whole woods of Urquhart for the use of the ironworks, except to serve the use of the country from the woods of Lochletter, Inchbrine, Cartaly, and Dulshangie, at the will and pleasure of the tenants and inhabitants.—Chiefs of Grant, III., 445.

2 She was a daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Findlater, afterwards Lord Deskford. It was customary in those times for ladies to retain their maiden surnames after marriage. At a subsequent period they used both surnames—a custom still adhered to by Scottish lawyers.

trained in the Continental wars, was left in command of the forces of the Covenant in Scotland. Munro rode with a small escort through the northern counties, getting the chiefs and landowners to raise their fighting men, and forward them to Leslie.[1] He forced Lady Ogilvy to give him written authority to send men from Urquhart, and to tax her lands and tenants for their support. But the people understood that the authority was not freely given, and they refrained from actively responding to it. In these circumstances the Laird took his mother in hand, with the result that on 8th September she made a formal declaration within the Castle in presence of James Leslie, notary-public, Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, Alexander Baillie of Dunain, and John Grant of Lurg, to the effect that her son might, "by word and not by writ," do all things requisite and lawful for the furtherance of the cause of the Covenant in Urquhart.[2] Glenmoriston, who acted as her son's agent, pressed her to stent her lands for the maintenance of the men sent south, or to give her son her concurrence and assistance in doing so, "or at least to give power or warrant in writing to the said James Grant [her son], or to her own bailies and officers, for stenting her lands of Urquhart and people for maintenance of those men whom she should send south." The lady replied that she was unable to grant the written warrant demanded, for

1 Memorialls of the Trubles, I., 320.
2 See the Permission, in Chiefs of Grant, III., 231.

the reason that she had already given a similar warrant to General Munro; but she offered not to resist her son in any steps he might deem it proper to take, in the event of his coming to the Parish with the full acquiescence of the General, or of the "Tables" which now governed Scotland. She absolutely refused, however, to give any active aid to her son, whom she accused of having unnaturally done her great harms, injuries, and oppressions; but, she adds—having the fear of the Covenanters before her eyes—that should he decline to undertake the work of stenting her lands and collecting the tax without her concurrence, she is willing to do so herself on receiving proper power and warrant from the Tables. Glenmoriston's demands and the lady's answers were, on 9th September, carefully committed to writing, and solemnly certified by the notary.[1] The limited concessions which she made were probably of no value to her son; and, so far as she herself was concerned, they failed to save her from the vengeance of the Covenanters.

[1] See notarial instrument, in Chiefs of Grant, III., 232.

CHAPTER IX

1640—1647

The Solemn League and Covenant.—Montrose and Alasdair Mac Cholla Chiataich take the side of the King.—The Laird of Grant and the Tutor of Glenmoriston hold aloof.—Alasdair's Requisition on the Tutor.—The Tutor's Trick.—A Brilliant Campaign.—Battle of Inverlochy.—The Laird of Grant sends men to Montrose.—The Covenanters invade Glen-Urquhart.—Lady Ogilvy robbed and driven out of the Parish.—Her Appeal to her Son.—Undertaking to support the King.—Montrose's description of the Laird's Recruits.—Urquhart Men killed at the Battle of Auldearn.—Montrose's Highlanders in Glen-Urquhart.—Raid upon the Aird.—Lovat calls upon The Chisholm to drive the Royalists out of the Parish.—Disputes and Notarial Writs.—Montrose's vengeance on the Frasers.—His skirmish in Glenmoriston.—His Exile.—Huntly takes the Field for the King.—Middleton defeats Huntly in Glenmoriston.—Lady Ogilvy's Troubles and Death.—Feud between her tenants and those of Glenmoriston.—A Fight at a Funeral.—Death of the Big Miller.—The Condition of the Castle.

The Parliamentary Party in England, and the extreme section of the Covenanters in Scotland, entered, in 1643, into the bond and compact known as the Solemn League and Covenant. The principles embodied in that document were looked upon by the Marquis of Montrose and other Scotsmen who had subscribed and still adhered to the more moderate Covenant of 1638, as unconstitutional and

rebellious; and they resolved to support the King in his conflict with the party which had adopted them. At an interview with His Majesty in December Montrose was authorised to raise the Scottish Royalists and to co-operate with Irish levies whom the Earl of Antrim, a powerful kinsman of the Highland Macdonalds, was to send to Scotland. The Irish soon arrived on the West Coast under the command of a Highland warrior, Alexander Macdonald, better known as Alasdair Mac Cholla Chiataich—the renowned Colkitto of John Milton. Macdonald, having taken certain castles on the West Coast, and done some injury to the Marquis of Argyll, landed in Knoydart, and marched down Glengarry to Kil-Chuimein, the modern Fort-Augustus. There he encamped, while the fiery cross sped over the Central Highlands, summoning the clans to rise for the King.[1] The summons was tardily obeyed. At first he was joined only by Glengarry and the Captain of Clan Ranald, followed by their clansmen, among whom were Macdonalds from Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The Laird of Grant had no desire to follow the extreme Covenanters in the revolutionary paths on which they had now entered; but he was not yet prepared to openly separate himself from them, and he remained inactive. His example was followed by John Grant of Coineachan, the Tutor or legal

1 Leitir nan Lub, on the estate of Culachy, near Fort-Augustus, is still pointed out as the site of his camp, as well as of the camp of Montrose some months later.

guardian of young John Grant who had recently succeeded to the estate of Glenmoriston.

Tradition tells that while at Kil-Chuimein Macdonald sent to the Tutor for a supply of cattle for provision for his men. The artful Coineachan, unwilling to grant his request, and still more unwilling to incur his displeasure, forwarded a large supply from the untamed herds of Corri-Dho. On approaching the camp and seeing the soldiers and their tents and banners, these denizens of the remote glens broke away in a wild stampede, and with a speed that defied the winds made their way back to their native pastures. A good joke was never lost on Alasdair Mac Cholla, and he sent a message to "Toitear liath Ghlinne-Moireastuinn"—the grey Tutor of Glenmoriston—complimenting him on the success of his trick.

From Kil-Chuimein Macdonald proceeded across the Grampians to Blair-Atholl, where he was joined by Montrose, who assumed the command, and began that brief but brilliant campaign which is the foundation of his fame. Leading the Highlanders into the Lowlands, he defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir, near Perth, on 1st September, 1644. Turning northward, he won another victory at Aberdeen, and still another at Fyvie. Penetrating into Argyll in the dead of winter, he burned and laid waste that county, and then pressed on towards Inverness, which was held by the Earls of Sutherland and Seaforth in the interest of the Solemn League. At Kil-Chuimein he was overtaken by Iain Lom

Macdonald, the Gaelic Bard,[1] and urged to return to Lochaber, as the Marquis of Argyll had entered that country with a large army. It was the last day of January, and the snow lay deep in the trackless passes. But Argyll had to be disposed of, and Montrose resolved to approach him secretly by a circuitous route through the mountains. Turning up Glen-Tarff, he and his men trudged for forty miles through heather and snow until they found themselves, on the evening of Saturday, 1st February, at the mouth of Glen-Nevis and within gun-shot of the unsuspecting Campbells. That

[1] That Iain Lom was the messenger sent to Montrose is asserted by a tradition which is corroborated by the following stanzas in the Bard's "Battle of Inverlochy," where he states that he saw Montrose's army turn up by Culachy, and that he was at Inverlochy Castle during the subsequent battle :—

An cuala' sibhse 'n tionndaidh duineil
Thug an camp bha 'n Cille Chuimein?
'S fhad chaidh ainm air an iomairt,
Thug iad as an naimhdean iomain.

Dhirich mi moch madainn dhomhnaich
Gu barr Caisteil Inbher-Lochaidh,
Chunna' mi 'n t-arm a dol an ordugh,
'S bha buaidh an la le Clann-Domhnuill.

Dircadh a mach glun Chuil-Eachaidh,
Dh' aithnich mi oirbh surd 'ur tapaidh;
Ged bha mo dhuthaich 'na lasair,
'S eirig air a' chuis mar thachair.

The Bard makes no mention of Montrose in his song. He gives all the credit to Mac Cholla; and, without in any way detracting from the great Marquis' soldierly and chivalrous qualities, it must be admitted that his successes were due as much to Macdonald's Celtic fire and knowledge of the Gael as to his own generalship. So long as the Highland leader fought by his side, he carried all before him. His engagements without Macdonald's aid—Philliphaugh and Culrain —were disastrous to him.

night the weary men lay under arms; but ere the early Sabbath sun had cast its beams over the shoulders of Ben-Nevis they sprang upon their foes and cut them to pieces. Argyll viewed the battle from the security of his galley, and sailed homewards. Fifteen hundred of his men never left the shores of Loch Linnhe.

Montrose's plans and prospects were now completely changed. Many who had hitherto held aloof joined him. His great victory helped the Laird of Grant to sever his connection with the Covenanters; and he sent him three hundred men to swell the ranks of the Royalists.[1] For this the Laird's residence at Elchies was plundered by the Covenanters of Inverness; but he had his reward in the hearty approbation of his mother, the Lady of Urquhart, who had, as we saw in our last chapter, resisted his efforts in the cause of the Covenant, and obstructed its progress among her people. For her loyalty to the King and the Bishops she suffered much. With the connivance of the Tutor of Glenmoriston and other gentlemen of our Parish, a company of the Covenanting forces at Inverness invaded Urquhart about Christmas, 1644, robbed her of her household and personal effects, and drove her out of the country. She found shelter at Lesmoir; and from that retreat she now encouraged her son to persevere in the King's cause, and to avenge the wrongs which they had both suffered. "Dispense with your goods,"

1 Memorialls of the Trubles, II., 447.

she wrote him on 2nd April, 1645, in reference to his loss at Elchies, "by way of care for the loss of them, as I have done with mine; for, in conscience, there is not left with me worth one servit[1] to eat my meat on. Yet think with me upon a way of reparation, and, ere long, you joining with him[2] who is coming of purpose to aid you, I believe in God that the Christmas pie which we have unwillingly swallowed shall be paid home at Easter. How soon I either see my son-in-law or hear any certain word from the camp, I shall not fail to advertise you. Meanwhile, be courageous, and remember still how both your mother and yourself have suffered."[3]

The Laird for once accepted the advice of his Spartan mother. He had already—on 30th March—entered into a bond with some of his friends, among whom we find William Grant of Achlayn in Glenmoriston, by which they bound themselves in the most solemn manner to support the cause of the King. His loyalty increased, but the recruits whom he had sent to Montrose brought him no credit. "Your men," wrote the Marquis to him, "tho' they were lyke to Jacob's dayes, did not content themselfs with that, bot bade and feu as they wer, heave all playd the runaways."[4] Better stuff was, however, forthcoming, and in May several Urquhart men, including Robert Grant, son of

1 Serviette.

2 Lord Lewis Gordon, her son-in-law, who had raised the Gordons for the King.

3 Letter at Castle Grant. 4 Chiefs of Grant, II., 16.

Shewglie, died for their King at the battle of Auldearn.

From the scene of that conflict Montrose marched into the east and south of Scotland. On the 3rd of September—a few days before his defeat at Philliphaugh—his Highlanders left him for the purpose of securing their winter's fuel, and doing the annual rethatching of their houses. On their journey homeward they sojourned for a time in Glen-Urquhart, and thence, in conjunction with Urquhart men, made incursions into the Aird, and drove away many cattle. Sir James Fraser of Brea, brother of Lord Lovat, and a keen adherent of the Solemn League, proposed to drive them out, and called for the assistance of Alexander Chisholm of Comar—The Chisholm[1]—who held a portion of his estate, including Buntait in the vale of Urquhart, as vassal of Lovat. Nothing, however, was done. Sir James blamed Chisholm, and caused the following instrument to be taken for the purpose of

1 Browne, in his History of the Highland Clans, sneers at the title of "The Chisholm," which, he says, is "not remarkable either for its modesty or good taste, and which is apt to provoke a smile when it first meets the eye or the ear of persons not accustomed to such definite and exclusive appellations;" and one renowned member of the clan boasted that only three personages were entitled to the definite article—The Chisholm, The Pope, and The Devil! The title is, however, a translation of "An Siosalach," which is ancient and natural. Even the translation can claim the sanction of antiquity. The Author has found many old documents in the Chisholm archives in which it is used, the oldest being a "Discharge to ye Chessolme for delyuerie [delivery] off guidis [cattle]" to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, dated 17th November, 1596. In the proceedings of a court-martial, held by the officers of Cromwell at Inverness, in 1654, the appellations Chisholm of Comar, The Chisholm, and the Laird of Chisholm are indiscriminately used.

preserving evidence to be used against him in the day of the triumph of the Covenant :—

"*Apud Ercheless, undecimo die mensis Decembris, 1645.*—That day compeirit Johne Fraser, grieve in Lovat, procurator for Sir James Fraser of Brey, Knight, before Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, and the witnesses underwritten, and protestit and tuke instrument that Alex. Chisholme of Comar gave no assistance of his men to the publict cause in putting away of the publict enemie out of Urquhart: for the quhilk cause John Fraser tuke instrument in my hand, Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, day, yier, and place above-written, before thir witnesses, Alex. Fraser, of Little Struy, John Grant of Corvony [Corrimony], Mr Thomas Howestoun, with diverse uthers."[1]

But The Chisholm had his own version of the tale to tell, and prudence suggested that he should state it to the notary. That official accordingly recorded the following on the same sheet of paper :—

"The quhilk day, yier, and place, Alex. Chisolme of Chisolme of Comar compeirit before Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict forsaid, and the witnesses forsaid, and tuke instrument that he haid more men upone the Lord Lovat's lands in the campe still with my Lord's men there as [than] ye saids lands culd affoorde.

"As also, the said Alex. Chisolme of Comar tuke instrument in the hands off me, Alex. Dunbar, Notar Publict, in presens off ye witnesses forsaid, that the said Alex. Chisolme of Comar offerit to go with his

[1] Instrument at Erchless Castle.

whole men in Straglais [Strathglass] after the enemie, if so be that Sir James Fraser and the rest of the kin of Fraser wold go, quhilk Sir James and all the rest of the specialls off the friends refussit, quhilk the said Alex. Chisolme will qualifie before famous witnesses :[1] all this was done, day, yier, and place foresaid,—Per me,

"AL. DUNBAR, No^rum Pub^m."

No legal proceedings seem to have followed on these formal writs; but the Covenanting zeal of Fraser of Brea brought down upon his clan the vengeance of Montrose, who, on his return to the Highlands after the battle of Philliphaugh, dealt out such chastisement to them that, according to the testimony of an eyewitness,[2] not a horse, or a cow, or a sheep, or a fowl, was left in their country from Inverness to Guisachan.

Montrose tried, without success, to take Inverness from the Covenanters. General Middleton, with an army strong in cavalry, hastened from Aberdeen to the relief of the town, and forced him, in May, 1646, to retreat into Strathglass, and thence by Glenmoriston, Kil-Chuimein, and Stratherrick into Strathspey.[3] In Glenmoriston he had an encounter with the enemy, in which Thomas Dunbar of Boghole was slain.[4] His spirits were high, and his hope of ultimate success strong. It was, therefore, with feelings of keen disappointment that he received

1 *i.e.*, prove by witnesses of reputation.
2 Rev. James Fraser of Kirkhill, author of the Wardlaw Manuscript.
3 Wishart's Life of Montrose, 255.
4 Records of Synod of Moray—Minute of 5th October, 1646.

on the last day of May a letter from the King, who was now virtually a prisoner with the Scottish army in England, ordering him to disband his forces and betake himself to the Continent. The command was obeyed, and he lived an exile from his country until 1650, when he made that ill-fated attempt on behalf of Charles the Second which ended in his defeat at Culrain, and his capture and execution.

Charles the First soon had reason to regret the expatriation of his devoted general. Weary of his life in the camp of the Covenanters, he resolved to escape and place himself at the head of the Scottish Royalists. As a preparatory step he sent a private commission to the Marquis of Huntly, empowering him to raise an army in the North. Huntly, in whose household the loyal Lady of Urquhart had found shelter, was strongly attached to the King; but hitherto the feelings of jealousy which he unhappily entertained towards Montrose destroyed his usefulness and made his loyalty of little avail. Now that his rival was out of the way, he accepted the commission with alacrity. He was not destined to succeed. The King escaped from the Scots, but was recaptured and delivered up to the English Parliamentary Party. General David Leslie, a soldier of great experience and ability, hastened from England to Scotland, in April, 1647, to crush Huntly, who on his approach retreated through Badenoch into Lochaber, where he disbanded his army. Along with his son and a bodyguard of trusted adherents he fled northward, followed by General Middleton with a

body of horse and foot and a company of Camerons. In Glenmoriston he was taken by surprise, and an obstinate fight followed in which many were killed.[1] "Midltone," says a writer of the time, "by their [the Camerons'] convoy, being brought, both with his horse and foot, upon them befor they could stand to their arms, they, with great difficultie, got my Lord [Huntly] and his sonne to horse; and, that he might get tyme to be out of their reich, fourtie of their best men stayes in the reir with such curradge and valour and obstinat resolutione, as, if the Clan Camerone, climing over the rocks, had not incompassed them, they had mad the pass good, in spight of all their enimies. This pairtie was commanded by [Leith of] Hearthill, a youth of tuantie years, or litle more, but of such admirable valour, curradge, and dexteritie in arms, as he was amongest his enimies the most redoubted man that followed the Marquise at that tyme. Being thus incompassed, many of them were slaine; few wane away. Hearthill himself was taken, and Invermarkie Gordone, with young Newtone, who, altho he wan frie at that tyme, yit by means of the Forbeses, his grandam's kin, he was surprysed soon efterwards; and both Hearthill and he, being about one age and dear comrades, ware soon efter had to Edinburghe, where they ware both execute, for no cause but standing in defence of their soverain lord's prerogative."[2]

1 Memoirs of Lochiel.

2 Patrick Gordon's Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper (Spalding Club), 204-5.

Through the devotion of Harthill and his companions the Marquis and his son escaped; but he was soon afterwards captured and put to death. His son, Lord Lewis Gordon, son-in-law of the Lady of Urquhart, took refuge in Holland.[1]

To Mary Ogilvy herself the troubles of the time brought nothing but loss and vexation of spirit. We have seen how her loyal enthusiasm brought on her the displeasure of the Covenanters, and how, when Urquhart was occupied by the soldiers of the Solemn League, she was robbed and driven out of the Parish, with the connivance, if not the active assistance, of the Tutor of Glenmoriston and the leading men in the Parish. In that letter which she addressed to her son on 2nd April, she urged him to think with her "upon a way of reparation," and expressed in a somewhat dark parable her belief that she would be restored to her possessions before the ensuing Easter. The longed-for restoration did not come. Her son placed caretakers in the Castle, which on her death was to revert to himself; but more than that he did not do. "My sufferings," she wrote him—her "honorabill and loving sone, the Laerd of Grant," as she addresses him on 8th

1 A rising ground near Ceanacroc is still pointed out as the scene of "the battle between the Camerons and the Gordons." According to a Glenmoriston tradition, Huntly was severely wounded, and owed his life to the bravery of a Macdonald of the Glenmoriston race of Mac Iain Chaoil who carried him on his back off the field. Huntly—so runs the legend—was so filled with gratitude that he caused to be inscribed on the lintel of his castle gate the words—"Cha bhi Mac Iain Chaoil a mach, agus Gordanach a stigh"—A Mac Iain Chaoil shall not be without, and a Gordon within!

June, 1646—"have been long from the hands of those parties mentioned in your letter; but never till this time have I found it resented by you. If you continue in your resolution to revenge it you will both clear your own honour from much suspicion of much indifference in matters concerning my prejudice, and purchase friends to assist you in the like or greater occasions. There be some of greatest worth who in respect of your by-past coldness can hardly be brought to believe that now you are in earnest; so that your own carriage must vindicate you from suspicion. For the Castle, I intreat you to make those to whom you have concreadit [entrusted] it keep it well from those rogues till our further advisementis [consultations], for howsoever I could not be a party to keep myself from prejudice while the whole country was enemies, I trust Sir James shall find my friends of power sufficient to right me at his hands—and if you play your own part you shall find me your loving mother,

"Marie Ogilvy."

Four days later she writes him again in the bitterness of her soul—"I always knew the men of Urquhart to be knaves, and I hope ere long to make them suffer for it; but"—she adds in reference to the Castle—"I beseech you to have care of the house till you either meet with me or know my further intention."

But for Lady Ogilvy there was no redress; and before the end of another year death put her beyond the power of the "knaves" who had so

terribly tormented her. The hardships she endured and the circumstances connected with her flight from Urquhart left their impression on the traditions of the Parish, which have not yet ceased to tell of her. When the MacPhatricks,[1] says one Glenmoriston legend, were owners of Culnakirk and other lands in Glen-Urquhart, their tenants were chiefly of the Clan Dougall, and were known as Dughallaich 'Ic Phadruig—the Macdougalls of MacPhatrick. Between those Macdougalls and the tenants of Lady Ogilvy there was much enmity, and at the funeral of one of the family of Glenmoriston, who was buried at Kirkhill, a desperate fight took place between the rival parties. Of Lady Ogilvy's men the most distinguished in the fray was Am Muillear Mor—the Big Miller of Wester Milton. The Macdougalls swore vengeance, and soon afterwards surprised and killed him in his own house. Lady Ogilvy and her people were greatly incensed, and Dugald Mac Ruari in Pitkerrald, the leader of the Macdougalls, had to seek safety in the woods. His wife, Mairi, Nighean Du-Sith—Mary, daughter of Du-Shee[2]—refused to inform his enemies of his retreat, and by order of Lady Ogilvy she was seized and placed in the lowest vault of the Castle. Patrick Grant of Bealla-Do in Glenmoriston, having heard of this, sent a message to the Lady to the effect that if Mairi was not at once released he would give her houses to the flames. Lady Ogilvy

1 MacPhatrick, or, more correctly, Mac 'Ic Phadruig: the patronymic of the Lairds of Glenmoriston.

2 Du-Shee: apparently the Doule Shee of our last chapter.

gave no heed to the threat, and Patrick went with a party of Glenmoriston men and set fire to her farm buildings. In great anger she ordered her people to follow the fire-raisers into their own glen and punish them; but they refused, and so concerned were they about the safety of their own houses that they insisted on the immediate release of the prisoner. The Lady was forced to give way; but she was so displeased with the men of Urquhart that she left the Glen and never returned.[1]

On Lady Ogilvy's death, the Laird, her son, succeeded to the Grant estate in Urquhart. He was careful to preserve evidence of such effects as her representatives or creditors might claim, and on 27th June, 1647, "honest men" from Strathspey made an inventory of the "plenishing, goods, and gear" within the Castle, in presence of a notary and witnesses. The whole was found to consist only of a timber bed, a taffil or small table, and a form, in the "chamber above the hall;" in the "valt chamber," a timber bed and a taffil; a board or large table, a form, a taffil, and a chair, in the hall; and, in the cellar, an old chest—"without any kind of other wares, plenishing, goods, or gear whatsoever, in all or any of the said houses and manor place foresaid, except allenarly [only] bare walls;" and the value of the whole was estimated

[1] According to tradition, it was in consequence of the feud between the Big Miller and the tenants of Culnakirk that the mill of Easter Milton was built. Easter Milton formed part of the lands of Culnakirk, and the mill is mentioned as early as 1646.—Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's Letters of Two Centuries, p. 53.

at the sum of twenty pounds Scots money.[1] Such was the depth of the degradation to which the War of the Covenant had reduced the old fortress which a century earlier yielded a rich spoil of "plenishing" to the Western raiders, and in which, two centuries earlier still, the nobles and prelates of the land were entertained with becoming pomp by its proud constables.

[1] Chiefs of Grant, III., 341.

CHAPTER X

1647—1668

Landing of Charles II.—He is supported by the Laird of Grant.—Patrick of Clunemore at Worcester.—The Fate of his Followers.—Cromwell's Soldiers in the North.—Glencairn's Rising for the King.—Lochiel and Kenmure in Urquhart.—Middleton supersedes Glencairn.—Middleton pursued by Monck.—Monck in Glenmoriston and Kintail.—Middleton defeated.—Dalziel of Binns and Middleton in Glenmoriston and Strathglass.—The Chisholm tried by Court-Martial, and Fined and Imprisoned.—The English place the First Ship on Loch Ness.—The Story of the Event.—Peace and Prosperity.—The Restoration.—The Caterans Let Loose.—The Hanging of Hector Maclean.—The Burning of Buntait.—Dispute between Glenmoriston and Inshes.—Glenmoriston Burns the Barns of Culcabock.—He seizes Inshes and keeps him Prisoner.—Is apprehended by the Robertsons of Struan.—The Dispute settled.—Donald Donn and Mary Grant.—Donald's Career, Capture, and Death.

After the execution of the King, the Scottish adherents of the Solemn League and Covenant invited his son, Charles the Second, to come over from Holland and reign in his stead. Charles landed at Speymouth in June, 1650, and was enthusiastically received. His adherents were routed by Oliver Cromwell at Dunbar; but a new army sprang up and followed him into England. The Laird of Grant sent him 1400 men, under the command of his brother, Patrick Grant of Clunemore and Clunebeg in our

Parish, and provided with victual for forty days. At the battle of Worcester, fought on 3rd September, 1651, the Scots were totally defeated. Patrick made his way back to Urquhart, but few of his men were so fortunate. Many of them fell in the battle. Some were seized and sent to the American plantations. Others perished in the attempt to reach their homes through an unfriendly country whose language they neither spoke nor understood.

After Worcester Cromwell's soldiers marched into Scotland and over-ran the country. At Inverness they planted a garrison for the purpose of overawing the North. For a time the remote clans held out for King Charles, Angus Macdonald of Glengarry being especially zealous. He travelled through the Cameron and Macdonald countries and Urquhart and Strathglass, stirring up the people against the Usurper. His mission was not without success; and when, in September, 1653, the Earl of Glencairn unfurled the royal standard, he was joined by Lochiel and many Highlanders. The Earl was a brave soldier but an indifferent general; and, instead of making a rapid rush on the English with his army of 5000 men, he wasted his time and his energy in aimless marches. In January, 1654, he sent Lochiel —the famous Evan Cameron—and Lord Kenmure to occupy our Parish and Strathspey.[1] In the following March he himself visited Glen-Urquhart and Strathglass with 1150 horse and foot.[2] He was

1 Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War, 227.
2 Court-martial proceedings against The Chisholm—at Erchless Castle.

soon superseded in the chief command by General Middleton, whom we last saw fighting against the Royalists in Glenmoriston, but who was now himself on the side of the King.

Middleton was not a man to be despised, and General Monck, whom Cromwell had just appointed Governor of Scotland, resolved personally to take him in hand. Having arranged that he should be joined by Colonel Morgan, who was stationed at Brahan in Ross-shire, and by Colonel Brayne, who had been dispatched to bring 2000 men from Ireland to Inverlochy, he marched northward with a force of horse and foot, which included his own regiment, now the famous Coldstream Guards. At Ruthven in Badenoch he received the intelligence that the Royalist leader was "about Glengarry's bounds;" and he started in pursuit on 20th June. On the 21st he reached Glenroy, where he burnt the houses of the people. Learning that Middleton was in Kintail, he hastened along the Great Glen and through Glenmoriston into the Seaforth country. He there found that the Royalists had turned southward in the direction of Glenelg. He gave up the chase, devastated Kintail with fire, and then crossed the mountains to Brouline in Glenstrathfarrar, where he was met by Colonel Morgan on 1st July. From Brouline he crossed to Invercannich and proceeded down Glen-Urquhart towards Inverness. From Inverness he marched southward by Moy and Slochd-Muic, while Middleton crossed Corriarrack into Badenoch and Perthshire. On the 19th, Middleton was surprised and defeated

by Morgan at Lochgarry near Drumuachdar, and he became a fugitive among the mountains.[1] He was in Glenmoriston in September, along with General Dalziel of Binns, afterwards of persecuting notoriety, and three hundred men. From there they went to Strathglass, where they were hospitably entertained by The Chisholm. For this offence against the Commonwealth that chief was, in April, 1655, tried by court-martial, fined £50, and imprisoned in Edinburgh.[2] He was released on giving bonds for his future good conduct, and permitted to return to his own country.[3]

The Highlanders were slowly but surely brought to acknowledge Cromwell's power. The Laird of Grant gave several bonds for the peaceable behaviour of himself and his tenants; and similar undertakings

1 Despatch by General Monck to Cromwell, in Library of Worcester College, Oxford. This despatch—a long document of great interest in connection with the history of the Highlands—was, with other despatches from Monck, printed by the Author in 1892 in Vol. XVIII. of the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. It also appears in Professor Firth's Scotland and the Protectorate (Scot. Hist. Society, 1899).

2 Court-martial proceedings, at Erchless Castle.

3 The Chisholm's passport, which is still preserved at Erchless, is in the following terms :—

"The Laird of Chissolme beinge discharged his imprisonment by the General [Monck] his especiall order, and haveinge given bonds remaininge with mee accordinge to his Honor's directions, I therefore desire hee with his two servants and three horses may freely passe to the place of his abode beyounde Invernes, and returne without let or molestation, they behaveinge themselves peaceably and quietly. Given under my hand and seale at Edinburgh, this 31st May, 1655. "Hen. Whalley, Judge-Advocate.

"To all whom it may concerne."

were given by Glengarry and other Western chiefs.[1] But the soldiers of the Commonwealth were not satisfied with mere pledges. They took means to open up the country and place it more effectually under their own influence. Having built the Citadel, or Sconce, at Inverness, and planted a garrison at Inverlochy, they to some extent anticipated the promoters of the Caledonian Canal by placing the first ship on Loch Ness, and establishing regular communication between the eastern and western seas. The manner in which the vessel was brought to the loch is recorded by two writers of the period. Richard Franck, a literary trooper in Cromwell's army, who saw the ship, discourses on the wonderful achievement with amusing extravagance in the following dialogue between himself (Arnoldus) and his friend Theophilus :—

"*Theophilus*—What new inviting subject have we now discovered?

Arnoldus—The famous Lough-Ness, so much discours'd for the supposed floating island; for here it is, if anywhere in Scotland. Nor is it any other than a natural plantation of segs and bullrushes, matted and knit so close together by natural industry, and navigated by winds that blow every way, floats from one part of the Lough to another, upon the surface of the solid deeps of this small Mediterrane : and here it is, in these slippery streams, that an English ship, by curious invention, was haled

1 See Glengarry's bond for £2000 in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XIV., 74.

over the mountains to this solitary Lough; brought hither on purpose to reclaim the Highlander.

Theop.—Do you romance or not, to tell me that an island swims in the midst of the ocean, and a ship fluctuates in the midst of the Highlands; where every rock represents a Charibdis, and every wave threatens an inundation; where there's no harbour without hazard of life, nor sea enough to promise security to the mariner when the winds mingle themselves with the waves that wash the pallid cheeks of the polished rocks? Now tell me that can, where the mariner must have berth (and the passinger supplies), in this fluctuating ocean, when a storm arises to eclipse his eye from a land discovery?

Arn.—If eye-sight be good evidence, there's enough to convince you; behold the ship!

Theoph.—How came she here? Was she not built in some creek hereabouts?

Arn.—No.

Theoph.—By what means, then, was she moved into this small Mediterrane? I solicite advice, and you can solve the doubt.

Arn.—Art was both engin and engineer to invite this ship into this solitary Lough.

Theoph.—If so, it's strange that a vessel of her force should leap out of the ocean, and over the hills, to float in a gutter surrounded with rocks.

Arn.—Not so strange as true, for here she is.

Theoph.—Was there a possibility of her sailing from the Citadel to this eminent Lough-Ness, when a boat of ten tun can't force her passage half-way

up the river? This looks romantick beyond the ingenuity of art, or possibility of invention.

Arn.—Let it look as it will look, I am sure it was so.

Theoph.—You are sure it was so; then, pray, resolve the point.

Arn.—Why, thus it was: In the time of the war betwixt the King and Parliament, this navigate invention was consulted by Major-General Dean, who, to compleat a conquest over the Highlanders (in regard hitherto the law of a foreign Power had never bridled them), he accomplished this new navigation of sailing by land; who contrived the transportation of this fair ship (that you now see) into these torpid and slippery streams.

Theoph.—What, without sails?

Arn.—Yes, without sail, pilot, card, or compass; by dividing only the ambient air, as formerly she plowed the pondrous ocean. Nor was she compell'd to encounter sea or land in all her passage. . . . A motion must be had (that you'l grant), and means considerable to move by (this you must allow), which to accomplish, the sailers and souldiers equally contributed. For a regiment (or it may be two) about that time quartered in Inverness, who, by artifice, had fastned thick cables to her forecastle, and then they got levers and rollers of timber, which they spread at a distance, one before another; whilst some are of opinion these robust engineers framed a more artificial and politick contrivance; but thus it was, and no otherwise, I'le assure you; save only they

fastned some cheeks and planks to the solid sides and ribs of the ship, the better to secure her from crushing upon transportation.

Theoph.—And did she pass in this manner, as you tell me, to this famous Ness?

Arn.—Yes; she relinquished the brinish ocean to float in the slippery arms of Ness. But to keep her steddy in her passage, and preserve her from rocking and rolling by the way, they consulted no other project than what I tell you: save only some additional supplies from Inverness, that with ropes and tackle haled her along to this very place where you now observe her. For you are to consider she no sooner got motion, but by industry and art she was steer'd without a compass to this remarkable Ness, where now she floats obvious enough to every curious observer."[1]

The other writer who refers to the event is a Highlander—the Rev. James Fraser, minister of Wardlaw, or Kirkhill. Even he, Royalist though he be, warms into enthusiasm over the wonderful doings of the English. They "brought such store," he writes, "of all wares and conveniencies to Inverness, that English cloath was sold neare as cheape here as in England. The pint of claret win for a shilling; set up an appothecary shop with drugs, Mr Miller their chyrurgion [surgeon], and Doctor Andrew Monro their phisitian. They not onely civilised but enriched this place. They fixt a garrison at Inverlochy, and carried a bark, driven uppon

1 Franck's Northern Memoirs, 199.

rollers of wood to the Lochend of Ness, and there enlarged it to a statly friggot, to sail with provision from the one end of the Loch to the other; one Mr Church governour, and Lieutenant Orton captain of this friggot, and 60 men aboord of her to land upon expeditions when they pleased. I happened myselfe, with the Laird of Strachin, near Portclare, to be invited aboord by Orton, where we were gentily treated. It were a rant to relate what advantages the country had by this regiment. Story may yet record it, but I onely set down in the generall something of what I was eye-witness.'' [1]

Indeed, the presence of the English was an unmixed blessing to the inhabitants of the district of Loch Ness, who now enjoyed a greater measure of security and justice than had fallen to the lot of themselves or their fathers since the days of Randolph, and Lauder, and Sir Robert Chisholm. For the first time for three centuries the men of Urquhart found themselves able to lie down at night with the assurance that their cattle and the fruits of their labour would not ere morning be in the hands of the Western clansmen. The Laird of Grant and his tenants appreciated the repose that had thus strangely overtaken them, and comported themselves so peaceably that General Monck, on 10th February, 1658, issued an order permitting them "to keep their arms for their defence until further order, they doing

1 Wardlaw MS., edited by the Author (Scot. Hist. Society, 1905), p. 415.

nothing prejudicial to his Highness and the Commonwealth." The only person in the Parish who was not at peace was the minister, Mr Duncan Macculloch; for the heritors and parishioners deprived him of his glebe and refused to pay his legal stipend, with the result that he got into trouble with his creditors, and neglected the duties of his holy office. The extreme sectaries who had brought peace, but not liberty, to others, had no sympathy for poor Presbyterian Duncan Macculloch; and the unchristian conduct of his persecutors probably met with their hearty approval.

The period of repose which the people enjoyed came all too soon to an end. Oliver Cromwell died in September, 1658, and, after the short and troubled government of his son Richard, Monck marched from Scotland to London and brought about the Restoration of King Charles the Second. That event took place in May, 1660, amidst great rejoicings; but no sooner did the tidings of the King's return reach the Highlands than the "louss and ydle men" sprang from the leash which had so long restrained them, and resumed their old work of harrying and cattle-lifting. Reivers from Glengarry, led by Donald Bain and his son John Mac Donald Vic Gorrie in Achluachrach, carried away cattle from the Laird of Grant's tenants; for which spoil the Earl of Glencairn, now Chancellor of Scotland, ordered Alasdair Macdonald and his ward, Alasdair Mac Angus Mhor in Achluachrach, on whose lands the Bains lived, to make restitution to the

sufferers. The Government, also, issued a commission to the Laird of Grant authorising him, and such as he should appoint, "with their assisters and followers, to search, seik, tak, and apprehend all such sorners, broken men, thieves, robbers, and others disturbers of the peace of this Kingdome, at anytyme comeing, within any place of the bounds wher the said Laird of Grant hes power or may command; and for that effect, in cace of resistance, with full power to the said Laird of Grant and his forsaids to convocat ane sufficient and compitent number of armed men, not exceiding the number of fourty, for takeing and apprehending of the forsaids persones; and being taken and apprehendit, to put them in sure waird, firmance, and captivity in any tolbuith or wairding-place within this kingdom," where they were to be kept until they were tried and punished according to law.[1]

The salutary effect of these proceedings was to a large extent counteracted by the King's desire to please those chiefs who had been faithful to him in the day of his adversity. To gratify them, the Citadel of Inverness was, in 1662, razed to the ground—the Laird of Grant assisting in the work of demolition. Crime and disorder immediately followed the disappearance of this last symbol of Cromwell's power and protection. The Earl of Moray, Sheriff of Inverness-shire, made some efforts to restore respect for the law. At his request, Hector Mac Alasdair, a notorious

1 Chiefs of Grant, II., 21; Domestic Annals of Scotland, 3rd Ed., II., 263.

cateran of the Clan Maclean, and one who had slain and robbed in various parts of the country, was apprehended by The Chisholm, and hanged. Hector had relatives and friends who resolved to avenge his death. His sons, John Maol, Allan, and Donald, with Donald Mac Ewen Vic Kenneth, in Badenoch, and about sixty others, made a descent on the lands of Croichal and Mauld, in May, 1663, and in the dead of night lifted forty cows belonging to Chisholm and his tenants, and drove them, by Glenmoriston and Fort-Augustus, into Badenoch. The Chisholms followed in close pursuit, and tracked the cattle across Corriarrack. They recovered twenty. The rest were hamstrung by the raiders, who escaped to the mountains. In November they appeared on The Chisholm's Glen-Urquhart estate of Buntait, "under cloud and silence of night," and gave "four great barns, full of corn, and two houses" to the flames. This was but an earnest of what was yet to come. On the 24th of March, 1664, the same resolute avengers again appeared, and filled the poor people's cup of suffering to overflowing, by "treasonably burning all the houses and barns that were in the haill half daach [davach] of Buntait, extending to the number of twenty-two houses and barns, and burning both oxen, sheep, and gaits [goats] that were in the said houses, and cruellie wounding the people that were within the same."

The legal writs which give these particulars[1] are silent as to the distress that followed these visitations.

[1] The writs are preserved at Erchless Castle.

The Chisholm did what he could to get the poor comforts of the law for the sufferers. Proceedings were promptly taken at the instance of the Lord Advocate and himself against the offenders, who were cited to appear in Edinburgh on 8th June, 1664. They did not obey, and were declared rebels; and on the 16th, a commission was issued in the King's name, charging Lord Lovat; Lord Duffus; Alexander Fraser, tutor of Lovat; Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, and his son; The Chisholm; Hugh Fraser of Foyers; Hugh Fraser of Belladrum; John Chisholm of Buntait; John Grant of Glenmoriston; and John Grant of Corrimony, factor of Urquhart, to convocate the lieges in arms, and to apprehend the rebels, and pursue them to the death. "And," adds the King, "if in pursuit of the said rebels, their assisters or complices, . . . there shall happen fire-raising, mutilation, slaughter, destruction of corns or goods, or other inconveniences to follow, we . . . will and grant, and for us and our successors decern and declare that the same shall not be imputed as crime and offence to our said commissioners, nor to the persons assisting them in the execution of this our commission."[1]

Untoward circumstances impeded the action of the commissioners at the very outset. The Chisholm, to whom it naturally fell to lead them against the outlaws, was, unfortunately, deep in debt; and, powerful though he was in his own glens, and among his own people, he had to confess that he could not

[1] Commission at Erchless Castle.

venture beyond the bounds of his estates without running the risk of incarceration by his creditors. He petitioned the King for "a protection for his person while he is putting the said commission in execution."[1] The result is not known, but the probability is that it was not found expedient to suspend the debtors' laws, even in favour of a Highland chief armed with the King's mandate, and that the burners of Buntait escaped through the pecuniary embarassment of their principal pursuer.

The Government, in appointing John Grant of Glenmoriston—the Iain Donn of his contemporaries—one of the commissioners, acted on the time-honoured policy of setting a thief to catch a thief. Ere the ashes of the barns of Buntait were cold, the barns of Culcabock, near Inverness, were given to the flames by the fiery Iain Donn. The Lairds of Glenmoriston had, as we have seen, been proprietors of Culcabock, including Hilton and Knockintinnel, from the days of Iain Mor, the first of the family. Their immediate neighbours were the Robertsons of Inshes, a wise race who made money, and lent it out at interest. When Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston died, in 1642 or 1643, he was owing John Robertson of Inshes "great sums of money." Patrick's heir, Iain Donn, was at the time a minor, and he remained for years under the tutelage of his uncle, Grant of Coineachan. Inshes, apparently before Patrick's death, began legal proceedings for the recovery of his money; obtained a decree of apprising of

[1] Copy petition at Erchless.

the baronies of Culcabock and Glenmoriston, the effect of which was to convey the estates to him, subject to Iain Donn's right to redeem them by payment of the debt within a certain fixed time; and in January, 1645, was infeft in both baronies.[1] He entered into possession of Culcabock, and let the lands to tenants; but he was unable to take the same course with the young debtor's estates in our Parish, and, so far as these were concerned, he rested on his conditional title, until the lapse of time should make it absolute. He was not allowed to rest in peace. Grant of Carron and other friends of Glenmoriston interested themselves in the business, and devastated the lands of Inshes. Robertson, however, still adhered to his claims, and on his death, about 1661, they were taken up by his son William, who was infeft in the apprised lands in 1662. But Iain Donn had now reached manhood, and the loss of his Inverness possessions, and the danger which threatened the estate of Glenmoriston, roused him to action. He began in the spirit of compromise. He proposed to relinquish all claims to Culcabock if young Inshes would pay

[1] Inshes also apprised Balmacaan (which Glenmoriston held in wadset), and Glenmoriston's other Glen-Urquhart possessions of Clunemore and Culnakirk. In reference to these he wrote his Edinburgh legal adviser in 1646—"You shall consult with your advocates concerning the lands of Urquhart, belonging to Glenmoriston, for I comprised Bellamaka, the Clune, Culin-kirk, and the mill. This Bellamaka pays yearly 400 merks, holden of the Laird of Grant. He is to redeem at Whitsunday for 3000 merks. See what course you will have me do thereanent." The mill was, as it still is, situated at Lower Milton, which formed part of the lands of Culnakirk.—Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's Letters of Two Centuries, 53.

him eight or nine thousand merks, and discharge all claims upon Glenmoriston. Robertson, who had a legal title to both estates, declined the offer. Grant, finding his peaceful overtures of no avail, resorted to sterner measures. On the night of 4th January, 1664, the citizens of Inverness, who had not yet finished the festivities of the New Year, were attracted towards the south-east by a great glare in the sky. Two barns at Culcabock, containing one hundred and sixty bolls of corn belonging to Inshes's tenants, and to forty bolls of which he was himself entitled, as his "ferme," or rent,[1] were in flames, and beyond salvation. Night shielded the incendiaries, and they escaped; but Iain Donn and his friends were suspected, and Inshes openly accused them of the crime. "I am sorry," wrote Forbes of Culloden to him, on 10th February,[2] "for that miserable loss you have sustained, but cannot think anywise of what you write concerning the actors; and though you seem to wonder at these of Glenmoriston, always the Lord will discover it in His own time, and I hope they shall suffer for it."

Inshes, who was a clerkly young man, and a Master of Arts, could also write piously when occasion demanded. He wrote to the Bishop of Moray, on 21st January,[3] that the "malicious burning" is an act "so barbarous as all Christian and honest men will abhorre, and requyres that such

1 Letter, Inshes to the Bishop of Moray, dated 21st January, 1664, in possession of Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.

2 Letter in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.

3 Letter in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.

course be taken thereanent as may rather be ane eye-sore than ane encouragement to the wicked;" and he follows up this reflection by the practical suggestion that the Bishop should order a collection to be made in the parish churches within the diocese for behoof of his injured tenants. "Honoured and loving Friend," replied the Bishop, with becoming sympathy, "yours I receivit, showing of your great loiss, which ye have susteinit by the burneing of your biggings [buildings] and cornes, which trulie affectes my mynd to heir the lyk insulencie committit in the land, and in speciall haveing fallen upon you, or any of yours, which I most willinglie wold repair iff ther were any convenient way to doe it. And as to your desyre in committing the perticular to the province" —that is, to have a collection made—"it is a thing that is not usuall nor handsome, and therefore it cannot be done efter that maner. But once the nixt week [is past], I purpose, be the Lord's mercies, to see you at Inverness myselff, at which we shall speak of it, and consider iff ther can be any other way that may doe better. Till which tyme, I committ you, with the rest of our relationes, to the protection of the Almightie God."[1]

The "other way," if devised, was not effectual. The Laird made no concession to Glenmoriston, and the latter dealt him another secret blow. On 20th March, "the great barn-yards of Culcabock, belonging to Inshes," writes the contemporary minister of Kirkhill,[2] "and 3 more, were all set on fire, 11 stacks,

[1] Letter in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.
[2] Wardlaw MS. (edited by the Author), Scot. Hist. Society, p. 453.

about 10 at night, all irrecoverably burnt. It made such a dreedfull flame as put Inverness in a consternation, being so neare.''

Robertson, however, still continued to hold out, and his opponent now resolved to seize his person, and keep him captive until the terms offered him were agreed to. Glenmoriston sought the aid of his relative, Bailie Finlay Fraser of Fairfield, near Inverness, to whom he wrote on 12th August—'' Worthy and much Respected Cousin,—If you remember, when, as I sent your messenger to the Goodman of Inshes, you told me that Inshes could not meet with me upon our particular till Lammas were past. Now, I request he would be pleased to be at Castel Spiritual [Caisteal Spioradan, at the east end of Loch Ness] upon Saturday, being 20th instant, when I shall bring three or four friends, whereby we may take Inshes by way of ceremony in our particular, and afterwards it may happen his friends may move some occasion of settlement. Thus, till your positive answer, I remain, your very loving Cousin,—J. GRANT.''[1]

The Bailie appears to have gone about the delicate business entrusted to him with the tact and zeal which his affection to his cousin demanded; and, with the innocent assistance of Brodie of Brodie and John Forbes of Culloden, a meeting of the lairds was brought about on 23rd August—not at Caisteal Spioradan, but at Inverness. Inshes was accompanied by ''three civil gentlemen''—to wit, Alexander Cuthbert, Provost of Inverness, Robert Ross,

[1] Letter printed in *Inverness Courier*, 5th March, 1845.

ex-Provost, and Culloden. Glenmoriston had a retinue of a dozen or sixteen men; but these he concealed in an ale-house until their services were required. The gentlemen passed the afternoon pleasantly enough in one of the "closes" of the Highland Capital; but no great progress was made with the work of reconciliation, and, just as they were about to separate, Iain Donn suddenly called his men, and pulling Inshes off his horse, galloped off with him to Glenmoriston. Next morning, Culloden, greatly shocked, wrote Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, giving an account of the affair. "My Lord Brodie," said he, "having spoken to me the other day at the burial, anent the particular of the Laird of Glenmoriston and Inshes, and wished me to interpose with Inshes for a settling, to the end that any composition [compromise] which might have been had should have come your Honour's way, I do profess this was the only cause why, in a manner, I insinuated myself in that affair; whereupon a tryst is drawn on, and having spent the whole afternoon yesterday in the close, even as we were parting, and some of us come a pretty way off, without as much as a cross word, or the least occasion of offence offered, Glenmoriston, with the number of twelve or sixteen men, whom he had all the time lying down in an ale-house near the place, rushed forth upon the young man Inshes, just as he was taking good-night of the laird, and turned him off his horse, and carried him prisoner to the Highlands, as would appear, till they extort that from him by violence which friends could easily have

persuaded him to have given. This wicked and barbarous kind of procedure, under pretext of friendship, and even while friends are travelling betwixt them for an accommodation, should (I think) be argument sufficient to persuade all gentlemen to resist it, and particularly your honourable self. Wherefore I have thought fit to give you notice, knowing you have influence upon these men, to the end your Honour may use your own moyen [influence] with them, and in your own way, to get the poor man released, who I hear say, would have been content to have made yourself or any honest man judge to what satisfaction he should have given them. The sooner this be done the better for preventing of their further barbarity. I need say no more, only the abuse is so gross, and the preparative of so bad a consequence, as of itself it calls for the assistance of all good men, condign punishment inflicted upon the offenders, even to the terror of others who might offer the like again."[1]

Cawdor, who was related to Glenmoriston, interested himself in the matter, and in the end Robertson undertook to pay his captor seven thousand merks, and was released. But Iain Donn's offence was too heinous to be ignored by the authorities, and by order of the Privy Council he was apprehended by the Earl of Moray, Sheriff of Inverness-shire. He contrived to escape, only to be captured and taken to Edinburgh by the Robertsons of Struan, who had, in true Highland

[1] Thanes of Cawdor, 317; *Inverness Courier*, 5th March, 1845.

fashion, espoused the cause of their northern clansman. The circumstances of his arrest and subsequent release, are related in a letter addressed by James Fowler, of Inverness, on 16th October, 1666, to Inshes, who was then in Edinburgh :—" I doubt not but ye have heard of Glenmoriston, that he was apprehended by the Robertsons of Athole, and carried to the Justice-General, who taking pity on him, and also the gentlemen that apprehended him taking pity on him, did dismiss him, upon his bond to appear at Cluny, in Badenoch, against the 2nd of November, with two of his friends, when they are to meet him with two of their friends, for taking cognisance in the assault and debate, and for removing of the same. The forfeit is six thousand merks. You would do well to advise with your friends in Athole, and send an express to them; for once that people has espoused your quarrel, they will not see you misused, but will serve you to the full. Therefore, they should not be met with ingratitude or forgetfulness."[1]

The negotiations for a settlement now proceeded smoothly, and early in 1666 they were brought to a successful termination. Iain Donn agreed to relinquish whatever right he had to Culcabock, while Inshes granted to him a bond for seven thousand merks, undertook to discharge him of the consequences of his illegal conduct, and gave up all claim to the barony of Glenmoriston.[2] The agreement was duly carried into effect. Inshes, on 25th May,

1 Letter in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.

2 Memorandum, holograph of Inshes, in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.

1666, "fully, freely, perfectly, lovingly, and finally" discharged Glenmoriston, and his tenants and servants, and promised to "entertain love, peace, and amity" towards them;[1] and on 9th March, 1668, Glenmoriston granted Robertson a formal deed of corroboration of his right to Culcabock; and thus the long-standing quarrel was happily ended. Iain Donn lost the Inverness possessions of his family, but he saved Glenmoriston and his land in Glen-Urquhart, which Robertson's apprising had been threatening for upwards of twenty years.[2]

Of the many wild adventurers who flourished in the seventeenth century the most renowned was Domhnull Donn Mac Fhir Bohuntuinn. Donald, who was a son of Macdonald of Bohuntin, in Brae-Lochaber, and a contemporary of Iain Lom, who witnessed and sang of the battle of Inverlochy, looked upon cattle-lifting as legitimate warfare, and on the reiver's trade as a gentleman's calling. He

1 Deed in Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's possession.

2 Iain Donn was still liable to prosecution by the Crown for his offences against the law. He did not get rid of that liability till 1683, when a letter of remission was by warrant of the King passed under the Great Seal for Scotland, "remitting and forgiving to John Grant of Glenmoristoun the crime of violent and masterfull taking and apprehending of the person of Mr William Robertson of Inshes, of forcing and compelling him to grant bonds and other obligements, and of his detaining and keeping him until he should grant the same, and of sending and hounding out other persons to do and committ the said crimes; and sicklike of all accession he had to the hounding out of any person or persons to the assaulting mutilating or cutting off the finger of Robert Andrews, messenger in Forres; and all actions and causes civil and criminal that may be moved pursued or laid to the charge of the said John Grant for the same; and all peril or danger he has sustained or incurred or shall sustain or incur through the said fault or offence, in his person lands or goods."

was the Rob Roy of his generation; but he had more poetry in his soul than the famous Macgregor had, and, although his deeds brought him in the end to the headsman's block, he died with the reputation of never having injured a poor man, or imbued his hands wantonly in human blood. The scenes of his adventures extended from Breadalbane to Caithness, and his custom was to make rapid journeys with a few kindred spirits, by the least known mountain tracks, and to swoop down upon the cattle of the lairds and tacksmen where he was least expected. He was aided and abetted by the smaller tenants and cottars, to whom he extended his protection and lavish generosity. An ardent wooer of the Highland muse, he beguiled the tedium of the march and the loneliness of the night watch by weaving delightful Gaelic lyrics—love songs principally, which, however, give vivid glimpses of the life he led.

To our Parish, as we learn from tradition and his songs, he was a frequent and not unfriendly visitor; for on one of his journeys he met and loved Mary, daughter of the Laird of Grant, who resided at the time in Urquhart Castle. Donald was a gentleman, and a gentleman's son, and the lady reciprocated his tender feelings; but her father refused to have him for his son-in-law, and forbade all intercourse between them. They, however, found opportunities of meeting secretly on the wooded banks of Loch Ness. On one of these occasions he left his companions on the farm of Borlum, with a herd of cattle which he had lifted in Ross-shire. During his absence the owners appeared and claimed the cattle, among which was a

white cow which they readily identified. The Laird of Grant, called upon to explain how the reivers had found shelter so near his residence, was very angry, and swore, "Bheir an Diabhal mise a mo bhrogan mar teid Domhnull Donn a chrochadh!"—"The Devil may take me out of my shoes, if Donald Donn is not hanged!" Donald, pursued by the soldiers from the Castle, but still anxious to be near Mary Grant, betook himself to an almost inaccessible cave in Glaic-Ruidh-Bhacain, on the Ruiskich side of Alt-Saigh, which is still known as Uamh Dhomhnuill Duinn—Donald Donn's Cave. There, safe from his pursuers and their sleuth-hounds—*coin dubh Eadailteach*—black dogs of Italy—he passed his time in the company of Glenmoriston's herdsmen from across the burn of Alt-Saigh, or composing songs in praise of Mary and the wilds that gave him shelter. But his place of retreat was discovered by his pursuers, who, unable to approach him in the cave, sent him a message, as if from Mary, proposing an interview at the house of a certain individual, who was represented to be her trusted confidant. Eager to meet her, he repaired to the house at the appointed hour. He was hospitably received by the supposed friend, who promised that the lady would soon appear. While Donald awaited her arrival, the *cuach* was sent speedily round, and in his excitement he drank deeply. At last, and at a signal from his treacherous host, his enemies, to the number of sixty-three, as he himself states in one of his songs, rushed in and endeavoured to seize him. Starting to his feet, and grasping his gun, he fired at them; but the weapon

also played false, and missed fire. Striking furiously at them with the butt-end of the gun, he fought his way out of the house, and ran for his life. But he slipped and fell, and was taken and lodged in the Castle dungeon. Convicted of the crime of cattle-stealing, he begged for one favour before sentence of death was passed upon him—he asked that he should be beheaded like a gentleman, and not hanged. His prayer was granted, and sentence was pronounced accordingly: whereupon he exclaimed—"The Devil will take the Laird of Grant out of his shoes, and Donald Donn shall not be hanged!"

The short period which passed between his sentence and his death was occupied by him in composing songs of exceeding sadness, which tell the tale of his love and capture. At the place of execution —Craigmonie—his thoughts were of his beloved; and the legend tells that as his severed head rolled from the block, his tongue uttered the appeal, "Tog mo cheann, a Mhairi!"—"Mary, lift my head!"[1]

[1] See Appendix E further as to Donald, and his references to Urquhart.

CHAPTER XI

1668—1690

The Laird of Grant's Chamberlain killed by Mackay of Achmonie.—Mackay forced to surrender Achmonie to the Laird.—Fatal fight in Slochd-Muic.—Achmonie conferred on William Grant.—Restored to the Mackays.—Thomas Grant of Balmacaan.—Culduthel's Raid on Borlum.—The Castle repaired.—The Monmouth Rebellion.—Unsettled state of the Country.—The Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston support King James.—The Revolution.—The Laird of Grant supports William and Mary.—The Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston adhere to James.—Dundee's Campaign.—The Camerons' Raid on Urquhart. Quarrels in Dundee's Camp.—Killicrankie.—Adventures of Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston in the Battle.—Iain a' Chragain's Troubles.—Invermoriston House Burnt, and Glenmoriston Devastated.—A Whig Garrison in Urquhart Castle.—The Castle besieged by the Jacobites.—Supplies for the Garrison.—The Haughs of Cromdale.—Close of the War.

About the year 1670 an event occurred in Glen-Urquhart which added a chapter to the story of our Parish, and involved the family of Achmonie in much trouble. The Laird of Grant's chamberlain—a man of the name of Grant, who resided in Strathspey—appointed the mòd, or rent-collection court, to be held on a certain day at Kil St Ninian, or Temple House. The chamberlain did not appear at the appointed time, and while the people waited for him they drank freely at the expense of the gentlemen

of the Glen, among whom Gillies Mackay of Achmonie was prominent; and when Grant arrived he found them excited and quarrelsome. The mòd was, however, proceeded with, and closed; and thereafter the gentry and tenantry were entertained in the usual manner in the grange barn.[1] All sat late and drank heavily, and as the hours passed the disposition to quarrel increased—the Grants and such as were not of that name taking opposite sides in the disputes, as was their wont. An insulting epithet which the chamberlain applied to the men of Urquhart brought the tumult to its height. Every man started to his feet and drew his dirk. In an instant the torches which served to light the barn were extinguished; and high above the shouts that followed was heard the death-cry of the chamberlain, who had been stabbed to the heart.

By whom the fatal thrust was given no one could tell, but next morning Achmonie's dirk was found red with blood. Time passed, however, and no step was taken to bring home the crime to him, or to subject him to the punishment for which it called. But, after the lapse of many months, the Laird of Grant invited him, as he had often done before, to a hunting in Strathspey. The invitation was accepted, and Mackay and a few attendants journeyed to Castle Grant. They were hospitably entertained the first day; but, early on the second, Achmonie's room was entered by an armed band, headed by the Laird, who informed him of his know-

1 See footnote, p. 114 *supra*.

ledge of his guilt, and intimated that he must yield his lands or his life. The Laird meant what he said, and Mackay was compelled to surrender the estate—on the understanding that it should be restored to him as vassal of the Laird.

No sooner was the business arranged than the Laird's illegitimate son, whose mother had become the wife of the unfortunate chamberlain, entered the room in which the Laird and Mackay were, and demanded—"Ciod tha mise dol a dh' fhaighinn airson eirig mo bhobug:" "What am I to receive as my stepfather's *eric?*"[1] The Laird bade the young man hold his peace; but he was not thus to be put off. As Achmonie and his men passed homeward through the gorge of Slochd-Muic he suddenly fell upon them with a number of the factor's relatives and friends. Several were killed on both sides; and of the Urquhart men Achmonie and one other only escaped.

The surrendered lands were given on lease or wadset by the Laird to William Grant, of the family of Glenmoriston, whom we find in possession of them in 1677, and as late as 1691. Gillies Mackay did not live to see the promised restoration; but the promise was fulfilled on 24th May, 1721, when his son John obtained from Sir James Grant a feu-disposition of the estate, which was thereafter held of the Laird of Grant, instead of under the Bishop or the Crown, as in the past.[2]

1 Eric: compensation for death or injury.

2 Disposition at Castle Grant. John Mackay and his brother Donald practised law in Inverness, as the smaller lairds and the younger sons of the larger lairds were then wont to do. He was legal adviser to the Laird of Grant in connection with Urquhart, as the Author, his great-great-grandson, has been since 1875. See Mackays of Achmonie, Appendix IX.

Notwithstanding the ungenerous treatment that Lady Ogilvy had received in Glen-Urquhart, two of her sons, when they grew up to man's estate, elected to settle there, among the scenes of their childhood. Patrick, who commanded the Grant Regiment at the battle of Worcester, possessed Clunemore and Clunebeg, while his brother Thomas—the Tomas Dubh of his own time—held Balmacaan, where his portrait is still preserved, and succeeded the slain factor as chamberlain of Urquhart. Thomas found much to worry and annoy him. In 1675 his brother, Major George Grant, gave him great offence by entering his territory, under cover of a commission to suppress robberies in the Highlands, and taking away, without his authority, farm stock from the lands of Borlum-more. In December of the same year, Malcolm Fraser of Culduthel and his brothers, Alasdair Roy and John Buie, made a sudden raid on Borlum, and lifted sixty ewes, thirty lambs, four horses, four mares, twelve cows, one ox, one stirk, and ten ells of linen, belonging to the tenants, Donald Og Mac Dhomhnuill and Alasdair Mac Dhomhnuill Vic Iain Dui, *alias* Macdonell, who afterwards sought redress in the Court of Session.[1] In 1676 the chamberlain repaired the Castle, at a cost of 200 merks[2]—the last repairs probably it ever received, for troublous times soon overtook the ancient fortress. Next year he appears at a Presby-

1 Act and Commission, Donald Oig *v.* Frasers, at Castle Grant.

2 Letter from William Trent, Inverness, dated 20th April, 1676, at Castle Grant.

terial visitation of the old church of Kilmore as an elder of the Parish; but even there he found no peace, for the harmony of the meeting was disturbed by a dispute between Grant of Corrimony and the Cummings of Dulshangie regarding an encroachment by Corrimony on a grave within the church belonging to the Cummings.[1] And in October, 1678, he and his neighbours, John Grant of Glenmoriston, John Grant of Coineachan, and John Grant of Corrimony, and a host of other "heads and branches of families" throughout the Highlands, were required by royal proclamation to repair to Inverlochy, and give bonds for the peaceable behaviour of themselves and their tenants and servants.[2]

The people of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were not immediately affected by the persecutions of the Covenanters which disgraced the reign of Charles the Second. The minister and his flock conformed to Episcopacy, and there was no suffering within the Parish for conscience' sake. But when, after Charles' death, the Covenanters, led by the Earl of Argyll, attempted to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne, the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston and their neighbours were called upon to show their loyalty to King James the Seventh. In June, 1685, Lord Strathnaver, who was in command of the Royal troops, issued an order from the heights of Drumuachdar, commanding the Master of Tarbat with his men, and Thomas Fraser of Beaufort with the men of

1 Records of Presbytery of Inverness.
2 Antiquarian Notes, 188.

the Aird, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, the Frasers of Stratherrick, the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and those of the Castle lands of Inverness, to join the Duke of Gordon in a proposed expedition into Argyllshire.[1] The collapse of the rebellion, and the execution of Monmouth and Argyll, rendered the expedition unnecessary; but the preparations which had been made for the war greatly disturbed the North. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Inverness, held on 10th June, the minister of our Parish and other clergymen were absent, because they "could not wait upon the diet, considering the great stirs that was in the country in respect of the preparation to His Majesty's host."[2] The failure of the insurrection gave the Presbytery unbounded joy; and on the 13th of August our Parish joined in observing a day of solemn thanksgiving "for the happy and successful suppression of the rebellion in both kingdoms."[3]

But the observers of the fast cried "Peace, peace," when there was no peace. While the Covenanters of the Lowlands were hunted down by the supporters of Episcopacy, the Highlands were torn with clan strifes and cateran outrages. A meeting of Presbytery, held at Inverness on 5th September, 1688, was attended only by the ministers of Inverness and Kirkhill, "all the rest absent, some by reason of the great stirs that were in the country anent the late rebellion, and bloodshed in Lochaber"[4]

1 Dunbar's Social Life (First Series), p. 310.
2 Records of Inverness Presbytery. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid.

—an allusion to the skirmish at Mulroy. Before the end of the year the Prince of Orange landed in England, and drove James off the throne. James' cause was taken up by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who, following the example of his great namesake Montrose, placed himself at the head of a Highland army. He was opposed by General Hugh Mackay, a distinguished Sutherlandshire soldier who had won the confidence of the Prince of Orange during a long military career on the Continent.

To the Covenanters, Dundee was evil incarnate —the "Bloody Claverse," who had sold his soul to Satan, and, as part of the paction, was wading his way to the realms of darkness through the blood of the saints. To the Highlanders he was the great Iain Dubh nan Cath—Black John of the Battles—a brave and chivalrous soldier, true to his religion, loyal to his king, devoted to his country, and, above all, an enthusiastic lover of the lore of their own bards and seanachies. The Macdonalds and Camerons joined him early, and brought in the smaller septs in their neighbourhood. Sir Ludovick Grant, the proprietor of Strathspey and Urquhart, adhered to the principles of the Revolution, and supported Mackay; but John Grant, younger of Glenmoriston, and James Grant of Shewglie, ignored the claims of their chief to their allegiance and took the side of Dundee. Young Glenmoriston, better known by the name of Iain a' Chragain,[1] brought 150 men into the field, while James Grant, who had added the district of

[1] Iain a' Chragain—John of the Rock. So called from his having after Killicrankie resided on the Cragain Darraich of Blairie.

Inchbrine to his old wadset lands of Shewglie and Lochletter,[1] was followed by his tenants and by the Macdonalds and Macmillans of Urquhart.

Glenmoriston and Shewglie, placing themselves under the banner of Alasdair Dubh of Glengarry, joined Dundee in Lochaber on 18th May; but two months elapsed ere they had an opportunity of meeting the enemy. During that period of comparative inactivity Dundee experienced great difficulty in procuring necessary provisions for his forces, and a party of Camerons resolved to help him, and at the same time avenge the death of some of their clansmen who had been hanged by the Laird of Grant. Quietly leaving his camp, they, apparently without his knowledge, marched into Glen-Urquhart and began lifting cattle. The inhabitants resisted, and one of them—a Macdonald, who claimed connection with the family of Glengarry—imagined "that the simple merit of his name," to quote Drummond, or rather Macgregor, of Balhaldy,[2] "and the clan to which he belonged, was enough to protect himself and the whole name of Grant from the revenge of the Camerons. Confident of this, he came boldly up to them, and, acquainting them with his name and genealogy, he desired that, on his account, they would peaceably depart the country, without injuring

1 Discharge by Ludovick Grant of Freuchie, to James Grant of Shewglie, dated 26th May, 1683, in possession of the late Dr Cameron of Lakefield.

2 Memoirs of Lochiel. The name Drummond was assumed by Macgregor of Balhaldy in consequence of the penal enactments against his clan.

the inhabitants, his neighbours and friends. To this it was answered that, if he was a true Macdonald, he ought to be with his chief in Dundee's army, in the service of his king and country; that they were at a loss to understand why they should on his account extend their friendship to a people who had, but a few days before, seized on several of their men and hanged them, without any other provocation than that they served King James, which was contrary to the laws of war, as well as of common humanity; that, as they had indeed an esteem for him, both for the name he bore and the gentleman to whom he belonged, so they desired that he would instantly separate himself and his cattle from the rest of his company, whom they were resolved to chastise for their insolence. But the Macdonald replied that he would run the same fate with his neighbours; and, daring them to do their worst, departed in a huff."

The Camerons thereupon attacked the Urquhart men, and, killing some and dispersing the rest, drove their cattle in triumph to Lochaber. Dundee and Lochiel connived at their conduct, "both on account of the provocation they had, and of the supply of provisions which they had brought and generously distributed among the army." But the brave Macdonald was among the slain, and his death was keenly resented by Glengarry, whose name the unfortunate man had unsuccessfully used to charm away the Camerons. "Glengarry," says Lord Macaulay,[1] "in a rage went to Dundee and demanded

[1] History of England.

vengeance on Lochiel and the whole race of Cameron. Dundee replied that the unfortunate gentleman who had fallen was a traitor to the clan as well as to the king. Was it ever heard of in war that the person of an enemy, a combatant in arms, was to be held inviolable on account of his name and descent? And, even if wrong had been done, how was it to be redressed? Half the army must slaughter the other half before a finger could be laid on Lochiel. Glengarry went away raging like a madman. Since his complaints were disregarded by those who ought to right him, he would right himself: he would draw out his men, and fall sword in hand on the murderer of his cousin. During some time he would listen to no expostulation. When he was reminded that Lochiel's followers were in number nearly double of the Glengarry men, 'No matter,' he cried, 'one Macdonald is worth two Camerons.' Had Lochiel been equally irritable and boastful, it is probable that the Highland insurrection would have given little more trouble to the Government, and that the rebels would have perished obscurely in the wilderness by one another's claymores. But nature had bestowed on him in large measure the qualities of a statesman, though fortune had hidden those qualities in an obscure corner of the world. He saw that this was not a time for brawling; his own character for courage had long been established, and his temper was under strict government. The fury of Glengarry, not being inflamed by any fresh provocation, rapidly abated. Indeed, there were some who suspected that he had never been quite so pugnacious

as he had affected to be, and that his bluster was meant only to keep up his own dignity in the eyes of his retainers. However this might be, the quarrel was composed; and the two chiefs met with the outward show of civility at the General's table."

Drummond of Balhaldy, whom Macaulay follows in this narrative, states that Glengarry "meant nothing more by the great noise he made but to ingratiate himself with his people by humoring their vanity, and showing them that the least injury offered to the very meanest of them was equally his own quarrel."[1] The wisdom of his conduct appears evident; for among his followers were Shewglie and other Glen-Urquhart men who must have been well acquainted with the chivalrous Macdonald who had refused to save his life by deserting his neighbours. His feigned anger had the desired effect, and the men of Urquhart did good service at the battle of Killicrankie.

That battle, which the Highlanders know by the name of Rinrory,[2] was fought on the 27th of July. Mackay was marching northward from Perth; Dundee was on his way south. Early in the day the armies came in view of each other. The Highlanders, wild with joy, clamoured for the fray; but the sun was fast sinking behind the Grampians before Dundee drew them out in order of battle. Lochiel was credited not only with great military genius but also with the power of divination, and just before the onset he was

1 Memoirs of Lochiel.
2 Raon Ruaraidh—Roderick's Field.

consulted as to the issue. "That side will win that first spills blood," replied the chief. "Do you hear that?" said Iain a' Chragain, addressing a noted Glenmoriston deer stalker who stood by his side, and significantly pointing to an officer who, mounted on a white steed, had galloped out of Mackay's lines to survey the battlefield—"Do you hear that?" The stalker crouched forward and fired; and down came the rider of the white horse, shot through the heart.[1] The battle now began. Casting off their plaids and coats, the clansmen rushed forward with shouts of exultation. The men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston formed part of a battalion led by the young chief of Glengarry, who carried the royal standard of King James. As they charged, Shewglie was brought to his knees by a ball that struck his shield; but it was only for a moment. Exclaiming, "Och, but the boddachs are in earnest!" he bounded forward.[2] At a short distance from the enemy the Highlanders paused for a moment, and fired; and then, throwing away their firelocks, sprang upon the foe with claymore and Lochaber-axe. A Glenmoriston man, of the name of Mackintosh, especially distinguished himself by passing his sword from the left shoulder to the right loin of a Hessian soldier.[3] Mackay and his officers

1 Tradition in Glenmoriston.

2 Chambers' History of the Rebellions.

3 Glenmoriston tradition. Mackintosh's feat was one of "the three wonders of the battle." His son fought for Prince Charles at Falkirk and Culloden; and his grandson, John Mackintosh, joined the British army, under John Grant of Glenmoriston, in 1780, and, after seeing service in India and elsewhere, returned to Glenmoriston, where he was remembered by persons who communicated the Killicrankie traditions to the Author.

did all that brave men could do, but the Highland avalanche swept all before it. The victory for King James was dearly bought by the death of Dundee. "How goes the day?" he asked, as he lay on the sward, mortally wounded. "Well for King James," replied an attendant; "but I am sorry for your lordship." "If it is well for him," said the dying hero, "it matters the less for me." His place was taken by General Cannon, who knew little of Highland warfare and less of Highland sentiment, and who soon offended and alienated the chiefs. In less than a month the men who had adored Dundee, and conquered as he lay dying, returned to their homes, dissatisfied and disheartened; "and all the fruits of victory were gathered by the vanquished."[1]

For the part taken by Iain a' Chragain in the rising his praises were sung in Latin verse by admiring Saxons,[2] and in Gaelic duans by the bards of his

1 Macaulay's History of England.

2 In "Prælium Gillicrankianum," he is referred to in the lines :—

Glenmoristonus junior, optimus bellator
Subito jam factus hactenus venator.

(Glenmoriston the younger, suddenly became a warrior from being hitherto a hunter).

The author of "The Grameid," in describing Dundee's supporters, thus sings of our hero :—

His quoque se comitem Morisina ex valle ferebat
Grantius egregius bello, non degener ille
Grantiades Balli dictus de nomine castri,
Qui Batavi partes praedonis, et arma secutus
Sustulit Auriaci vexilla nefanda tyranni.
Ille sed incoctum fido qui gestat honestum
Pectore, Cæsareos Urquhartius acer in hostes.
Magnorum usque adeo mores imitatus avorum
Corripit arma manu, Regi inconcussus acerbis

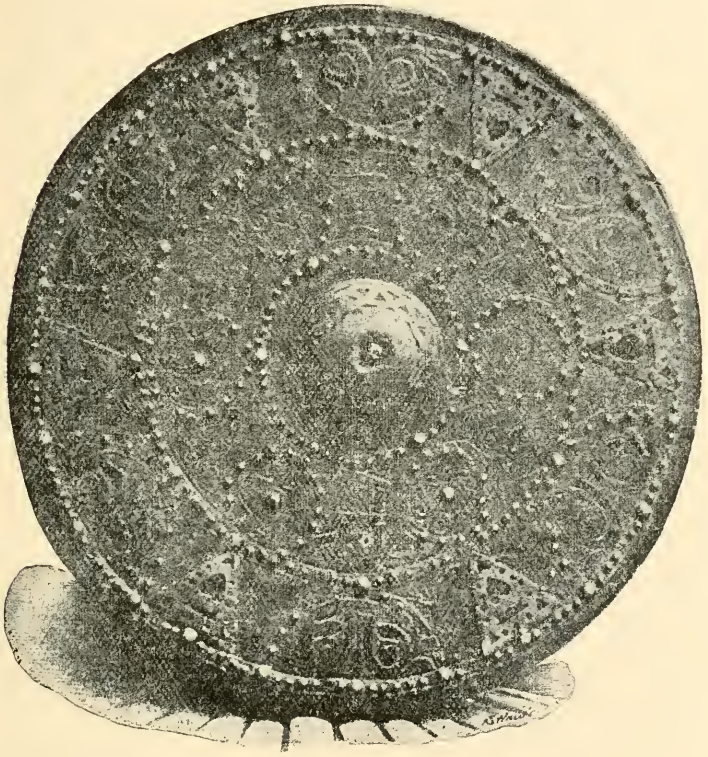
own people. His loyalty, however, cost his father and himself much. "The enemy were so enraged against him," says Balhaldy,[1] "that they burnt his own seat to the ground, plundered his people, and made such horrible devastations that the poor gentleman was obliged to offer some proposals of submission." At Inverness, Sir Thomas Livingston dispensed military law at the head of the Scots Dragoons and the regiments of Lord Strathnaver (now an opponent of King James), Sir James Leslie, and the Laird of Grant. Young Glenmoriston and his followers had to be chastised, and Strathnaver was entrusted with the work. He himself has recorded that he did it well. "To raise up the spirits of such as were in the interest of King and Government," says he in an unpublished report (a fragment of which is still preserved at Dunrobin), "I went out with a detachment from Inverness of five hundred foot, and three troops of

> Temporibus laturus opem, perque invia montes
> Scandit inaccessos, magnoque in bella paratu
> Arduus agmen agens graditur, quem Grantia pubes
> Ordine servato ductorem in castra secuta est.

(With them also, from Glenmoriston, came as their companion in the war the valiant Grant; not that degenerate Grant who takes his name from Balachastle [Freuchie, or Castle Grant], and who was following the party and the army of the Batavian robber, and was upholding the nefarious standard of the Dutch tyrant; but the bold Grant of Urquhart, bearing unstained honour in a faithful breast, and keen against the foes of the Cæsar. He, following the ways of his great ancestors, took arms, and, undeterred by the misfortunes of the time, contributed his help to his King. Through pathless tracts he climbs precipitous mountains with great equipment for the war. Tall in stature, he advances, leading his line; and there follows him into the camp, as their chief, the children of Grant, all in good order).

1 Memoirs of Lochiel.

Sir Thomas Livingston's dragoons, to Glenmoriston, where with great difficulty we forced open the iron gate [of Invermoriston House], not having a petard to blow it open. Some of the rebels very nearly



SHIELD CARRIED BY IAIN A' CHRAGAIN AT KILLICRANKIE—
IN GLENMORISTON'S POSSESSION.

escaped me, by a boy's acquainting them of our march. I burnt their corn, and drove their cattle and horses that fell in my way, to Inverness. This put them into such a consternation that, notwith-

standing our defeat at Killicrankie, above fifteen hundred came and took the oath to King William and Queen Mary; and," he adds, as if he felt he had overstepped his duty, "I had Sir Thomas Livingston's warrant and approbation." Sir Thomas accepted the responsibility, and wrote on the report: —"I, underwritten, do hereby declare that what was done at Glenmoriston was by my orders, and that I altogether approve of the commander's conduct and diligence in that affair.—T. LIVINGSTON. At Inverness, the 6th of September, 1689."

Those harsh measures brought little advantage to the Government. Young Glenmoriston constructed for himself a rude fort on the Cragain Darraich—the Oak Rock—of Blairie, and continued true to King James. He soon found himself among friends. Urquhart Castle was garrisoned by Captain Grant with three companies of the Highlanders of Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant; but the men were poorly armed, having neither swords nor bayonets, and only a few carbines sent them by the Duke of Hamilton.[1] Before the end of the year the old fort was besieged by the Jacobites. "I am certainly inform'd," writes Sir James Leslie to Lord Melville, on 6th December,[2] "that 500 of the rebells were come to Urquett [Urquhart]; they threatned the Castle, but I looke upon it to be in little dainger, they [the garrison] haveing a fortnight's or three weeks's provisions. I sent the last night Captain

1 General Mackay's Memoirs of the Wars in Scotland and Ireland (Bannatyne Club), 299-302.

2 Ibid, 299.

Grant up with ten bowles [bolls] of meale, and ammunition, and thirteen men and a sargeant of my regiment, and twelve of my Lord Strathnaver's; but the boat springing a leake by forcing her out of the river into the laugh [loch], he tooke but twelve of my men and a sargeant, and sent the rest back againe;" and, after referring to affairs in other parts of the country, he concludes—"I have just now received a letter from Corremonie, your nephewe's brother-in-law, that the Highlanders are come into the countrey of Urquett, with 4 or 500 men, under the command of Glengerry and my Lord Fredrick [Fendraught], and this night or to-morrow they expect Laugheale [Lochiel] and Cannon with more forces. It is reported that a great many of the M'Kenzies are like to joyne them, as likewise severall of the Fraziers." And he gives in a postscript a list of the districts reported as ready to join Cannon—among them being "the Urquhart and Strathglass men," and "the Glenmoriston men."

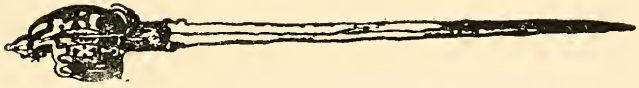
Captain Grant, notwithstanding the hole in his boat, reached his destination with his men and meal and ammunition; and, landing at the ancient water-gate, which was beyond the reach of the fire of the Jacobites, "gott verry safe" into the Castle. From there he wrote Sir James Leslie that the enemy numbered 800 men—an estimate which he subsequently modified to 600. These circumstances were, on 9th December, reported by Sir James to General Mackay. "I have likewise," said he, "given Captain Grant, commander of the Castle of Urquett, £5,

and am this day sending him ten bowles of meale more, with candles; which money I must lay out of my own pockett, and it costs me two per cent. to gett, besides one per cent. to the officer for bringing it." Corrimony, who had hitherto kept him informed of the course of events in the Glen, was himself now under suspicion. The Sheriff-Depute, added Sir James, "gives me notice that Corremonie is with the enemie, and severall others, soe that they play fast and loose as they think fitt. I shall endeavour to put myselfe in the best posture I can, having given notice to all the countreys round about, as Ross, Elgin, and Murrey, to be in reddeness, and put themselves in the best posture they can for theire owne defence, having assured them of what assistance I can afford."[1]

The Jacobites, indeed, had now so far recovered from the confusion that followed Killicrankie, that, with a Montrose or a Dundee at their head, they might have turned the stream of British history. They had, however, no such leader. The Highland friends of the Stewarts were left to linger in Glen-Urquhart for months, consuming the cattle and grain of the people, but achieving nothing else. In March, 1690, Cannon was superseded by General Buchan, who found the Highlanders disgusted, and their zeal all but extinguished. A few rallied round the new commander, including Iain a' Chragain and the men of Glenmoriston. With these he went through Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathspey, with the

1 General Mackay's Memoirs, 302-5.

intention of raising the vassals of the Gordons, and turning round on the garrisons in Inverness and neighbourhood. But his movements were watched, and, as his followers lay asleep on the Haughs of Cromdale, on the last night of April, they were surprised by Sir Thomas Livingston and his dragoons and the Reay and Grant Highlanders, and scattered naked over the moorlands. They never rallied again; and although Glengarry and Iain a' Chragain and some others still withheld their allegiance from William and Mary, and continued to give trouble, the war in Scotland was virtually closed at Cromdale. Two months later the hopes of King James were for ever extinguished at the Battle of the Boyne.



IAIN A' CHRAGAIN'S SWORD—IN GLENMORISTON'S POSSESSION.

CHAPTER XII

1690—1708

The Parish Unsettled.—The Castle garrisoned by the Whigs. —They Vacate and Destroy it.—Its Last Record.—Its Chambers of Treasure and Pestilence.—King William's Measures to subdue the Highlands.—Devastation of Urquhart.—The Losses of the Laird of Grant and his Tenants.—Compensation recommended by Parliament, but refused by the King. — Insecurity of Life and Property.—Raids and Dackerings. — Proceedings against Achmonie.—Raids by Glenmoriston Men on Dalcross, Glencannich, and Dunain.—Colonel Hill endeavours to stop their Adventures.—Horses stolen from Shewglie.— The Track and its Result.—The Macmillans of Loch-Arkaig-side take a Spoil from Glenmoriston.—The Fight of Corri-nam-Bronag.—The Raid of Inchbrine.—The Conflict of Corribuy.—Death of Shewglie.—His Son's Revenge.—Death of Gille Dubh nam Mart.

The Revolution Settlement, under which William and Mary became King and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, brought no immediate peace to the Highlands of Scotland. The friends of the Stewarts still gave trouble, and for the protection of Urquhart a detachment of Lord Strathnaver's men was, early in 1690, placed in the Castle. This garrison occupied it for at least two years—the last to which it gave shelter.[1] The written military record of the

[1] The garrison probably consisted of 300 or 400 men. Sir James Leslie, writing to General Mackay from Inverness, on 9th December, 1689, stated that the Castle "could contain three companies very well, and, for a stress, four."

RUINS OF THE CASTLE—1893.

old fortress closes on 11th January, 1692, with an order upon the Provost and Magistrates of Inverness to furnish horses to carry meal for the garrison.[1] It was soon afterwards vacated by these Whig soldiers, who prevented its occupation by the Jacobites by blowing up the keep and entrance towers, and destroying it as a place of strength. It was never again repaired, and so dilapidated did it become by 1708, that the people took to carrying away the lead that covered its roof, and the wooden partitions that divided its chambers.[2] Gunpowder and decay had done their work; and henceforth the Royal Castle, the pride of the North since the days of the War of Independence, is but a crumbling ruin.[3]

The old Laird of Glenmoriston and his son, Iain a' Chragain, acting in concert with their neighbour, Glengarry, long refused to take the oath of allegiance

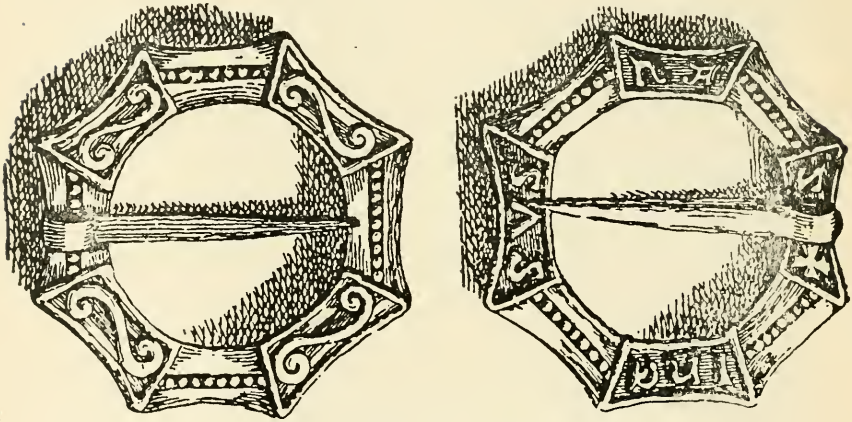
1 The order, which is in the archives of the Burgh of Inverness, is in the following terms:—

"You are herby Requird to provide as many horses as may transport ten bolls of meal from the magazin of Inverness to the nearest end of Lochness, for the use of the guarison of Urquhart, and that aganst tomorrow morneing, the twelfte of January Instant. Given at Invernesse, January 11th, 1692. For Their Maj[esties'] Service.—R. Cuninghame. To the Provost and Magistrats of the towne of Invernesse."

2 See Appendix F. It is believed in the Parish that there are two secret chambers underneath the ruins of the Castle—the one filled with gold and the other with the plague. On account of the risk of letting loose the pestilence, no attempt has ever been made to discover the treasure. This myth, in various forms, and associated with various places, is as old as the classic fable of Pandora.

3 The Author's ancestor, John Mackay of Achmonie, writing to Brigadier Grant on 19th February, 1715, states—"The Castell of Urquhart is blowen down with the last storme of wind, the south-west syde theroff to the laich woult" [low vault]. It has now (1912) been arranged that for the future the Castle will be under the care of the Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Department of H.M. Office of Works.

to William and Mary. On 11th January, 1692, the King issued instructions to Sir Thomas Livingston, ordering him to proceed against the "Highland rebels" who still held out for King James, "by fire and sword and all manner of hostility; to burn their houses, seize or destroy their goods or cattle, plenishing or cloaths; and to cut off the men. To that end," adds the King, "you are to join the troops, and divide them in parties, as you see cause or opposition. The



ANCIENT BROOCH FOUND AT URQUHART CASTLE

troops at Inverness lie most conveniently to be employed against Glenmoriston and Glengarry."[1] Vigorous measures, which culminated in the massacre of Glencoe, followed upon these instructions, and in the end the Highland chiefs yielded.

During the troubles of the Revolution, the Laird of Grant and his tenants in Strathspey and Urquhart suffered greatly. Despite the garrison in the Castle,

[1] Papers Illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland (Maitland Club), p. 60.

Urquhart was devastated by the adherents of the Stewarts. In the hope of obtaining some redress, the Laird presented a petition to the Scottish Parliament praying that a commission should be issued to the sheriffs and commissioners of supply of the shires of Inverness, Moray, and Banff, to enquire into the extent of the damage. His prayer was granted, and early in 1691, Hugh Fraser of Belladrum and James Fraser of Reelig, two of the commissioners of supply for the county of Inverness, opened an enquiry in Glen-Urquhart and took the sworn evidence of the tenants and inhabitants. Their report, dated at Urquhart the 3rd and 4th days of February, bore that the losses in our Parish of the Laird and his tenants amounted to £44,333 5s 2d Scots, including the damage, assessed at £2000, done to the Castle by King William's soldiers.[1] This report, with another in reference to Strathspey, was duly submitted to Parliament; while the Laird presented a second petition in 1695, setting forth that in consequence of the ravages upon his estates, "his tennents were so impoverished that he got little or no rent for several years out of his lands in Strathspey; and he was necessitat to discharge his tennents in Urquhart the entire rent of that Barony, which is £6000 Scots, and that for the year 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, and 1693, their stocks being so entirely carried away that they could not continow to labour without that abatement."[2] Including the above sum of £44,333 5s 2d and the rents, the losses in Glen-Urquhart amounted to £74,333 5s 2d Scots. In

1 Acts of Parl., IX., 426. 2 Ibid.

Strathspey the Laird and his tenants suffered to the extent of £76,152 18s 8d, making between the two estates the enormous sum of £150,486 3s 10d Scots —equal in value to the same amount in money sterling in our day—as the price paid for the Laird's loyalty to King William. The Laird prayed Parliament to assess and declare the amount of his losses, and "either to appoint him a fund for his payment or at least to grant him a recommendation to His Majesty for the same." The Committee for Private Affairs, to whom the matter was remitted for enquiry, found that the losses were correctly stated, and Parliament recommended "the said Laird of Grant to his Majesty's Royal and Gracious consideration for repairing of the damages and losses contained in the foresaid report."[1] The recommendation was ignored by the "Royal and Gracious," but very ungrateful William; and, notwithstanding repeated applications to himself and his successors down to the time of George the Third, no compensation has as yet been received for the damages and losses suffered by the Laird and his tenants.

The troubles which accompanied and followed the Revolution greatly increased the insecurity of life and property in the Highlands. During the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first few years of the eighteenth, the inhabitants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were freely plundered; and they plundered as freely in return. A few of the raids in which they were implicated may be mentioned.

1 Acts of Parl., IX., 426.

In February, 1690, "two red horse" were stolen from Murdo Mac Coil Vic Curchy, one of The Chisholm's tenants in Comar, and "tracked" to the lands of Achmonie, which were then in the possession of William Grant. Chisholm took up the cause of his tenant, and instituted proceedings against Grant before "The Commissioners of Justiciary, appointed by His Majesty for securing the peace of the Highlands," and on 31st May, 1698, judgment was given for £40 Scots, being the value of the two horses, £20 as the amount of loss, damage, and expense incurred by Murdo in consequence of the theft, and £6 of expenses. For these sums the Commissioners at the same time issued a precept of poinding, authorising their officers to distrain and sell Grant's effects. On 3rd February, 1699, the latter was "charged" by an officer, and he doubtless found it expedient to pay the amount contained in the judgment.[1]

Some time before July, 1693, Archibald Grant, *alias* Mac Conchie Vic Phatrick, in Coineachan, son of Duncan Grant of Duldreggan, carried away much spoil from James Dunbar of Dalcross, one of the bailies of Inverness. The bailie, on 4th July, obtained a decree of spuilzie in the sheriff court of Inverness, against Archibald and some of his associates, for the sum of £1224 17s 4d Scots of principal, with £60 of costs. The sums were, however, unpaid as late as October, 1703, when Dunbar obtained "caption," or warrant of imprisonment, against the debtors.[2]

1 Precept of Poinding, at Erchless Castle.

2 Antiquarian Notes, 143; and Precept of Poinding, at Erchless Castle.

In May, 1698, the same Archibald Grant, with Patrick Grant, in Coineachan, his brother, and John Grant of Glenmoriston, were involved in legal proceedings in connection with the theft from William Chisholm, *alias* Mac Alasdair, tenant in Carrie of Glencannich, of "four cows, whereof one white-bellyit brown cow, two black cows, and the fourth prick-hornit branderit cow." The cattle, "after hot dackering,"[1] were "straightline tracked to the bounds and graseings of Coinachan, possest by the said Patrick and Archibald Grant, or the said John Grant of Glenmoriston; and they, being required to purge their saids bounds and graseings of the said track, they either refused, or could not doe the samen." The Chisholm, as the complainer's landlord, accordingly took the usual steps before the Commissioners of Justiciary, who gave judgment against the Grants for £48 Scots as the value of the four cows, £20 of expenses, loss, and damage, and £6 15s due to the Commissioners for administration in the cause.[2]

At the same court Donald Mac Conachy Vic Alasdair, in Dulchleichart, was found liable for 40 merks Scots, with £8 for loss and damage, and 10 merks and 2 shillings as the Commissioners' fees, in respect of the theft from Alexander Mac Hutcheon Vic Coil, in Glencannich, of two cows—"both which cows prick-hornit and black colour. . . . And which cows, after diligent search and tryall made

1 Dacker, or daiker, to search.
2 Precept of Poinding, at Erchless Castle.

therefor, were recently dackerit to the said Donald Mac Cutcheon, his said portion of Tullichard, or graseing thereof, called Ardmullen; and which track, being by the said Complainer [The Chisholm] intimate and published to the said Donald, he absolutely refused to purge his said portion of the said track."[1]

John Grant of Glenmoriston repeatedly found himself in trouble in connection with the predatory enterprises of his people. Referring, apparently, to a raid on the lands of George, Viscount Tarbat, Colonel John Hill, Governor of Fort-William, wrote as follows to his Lordship on 1st November, 1697:—"I sent lately to Glennoriston to settle with and satisfy your Lordship, which he promised to do; and if he fail, I shall be a quick remembrancer to him." And the Commissioners of Justiciary granted a decree on 7th April, 1699, at the instance of Charles Baillie, as executor of the deceased William Baillie of Dunain, against Duncan Grant and James Grant, sons of the Tutor of Glenmoriston, John Riach Mac Finlay vic Coil in Achnaconeran, John Dubh Mac Coile, servitor or servant to Angus Roy Cameron, sometime in Invermoriston, James Roy Mac Croiter in Coineachan, Alexander Mac Iain vic Alasdair in Wester Inverwick, Finlay Mac Finlay vic Coil, brother of the said John Riach, Alexander Macdonald in Duldregganbeg, Peter Grant, brother of Glenmoriston and lately in Divach, Donald Dubh Mac Iain vic Neil, Malcolm Mac Coile vic Sorle,

1 Precept of Poinding, at Erchless Castle.

Alexander Dubh Mac Conachie Vore, Dalcattaig, William Mac Conachie vic William there, Alexander Keill Mac Coill vic Coill in Glenmoriston, "and John Grant of Glenmoriston their Landlord, Master, Chieftain, for his interest," for the sum of £2816 Scots, being the value of cattle carried away from Dunain during the deceased's lifetime, with the sum of £281, being the tenth part of the value due to the Commissioners as their fees. The process upon which the decree proceeded, and the amounts therein contained, were assigned by the executor to William Baillie, then of Dunain, who made several attempts to recover the money. In these he was not successful; and after the lapse of twenty-two years—on 28th January, 1721—he sold the decree to John Grant, younger of Glenmoriston, grandson of the chieftain against whom it was originally directed.[1]

In the month of August, 1701, Thomas Fraser, in Shewglie, was secretly relieved by some unknown persons of "ane blew horse or gerron,[2] seaven-year-old; ane dinish whyt-faced gerron, fyve-year-old, or thereby; and ane gray mear, about fyve-year-old." Fraser tracked the horses across the river Enerick to Buntait, and thence to Comarkirktown, in Strathglass, possessed by John and Thomas Chisholm. The Chisholms were unable to clear their bounds of the track, and Fraser at once assigned his claim

1 Translation by Baillie to Grant, recorded in Inverness Commissary Books on 4th May, 1727.

2 Gerron : Gaelic *gearran*, a gelding.

against them to Major James Grant, chamberlain of Urquhart, who took the usual proceedings before the Commissioners of Justiciary. The Chisholms, although apparently innocent, were remiss in their defence, and were found liable in "the sum of ane hundred and nyntie merks, deponed upon by the said Thomas Fraser to be the value of the saids horses and mear, together with the sum of ane hundred and ten merks in lieu of the dammadges and expenses." They now, when too late, endeavoured to push the track beyond their own lands, and succeeded in bringing it to the bounds of Corindraihk, and thence to Guisachan, the property of William Fraser, to whom they gave the customary intimation. The latter cleared himself by following it across the mountains "to the bounds and grazings of Lundie in Glenmoriston, possessed by Patrick Grant of Craskie, and Alexander Grant there, and Patrick Grant in Coineachan," whom we have seen in a similarly suspicious position in 1698. The Grants received the usual notice, but, "notwithstanding the trackers stayed and resided upon the saids bounds the ordinary tyme appointed in such cases, yet they [the Grants] could not purge the same track from off their bounds." The Chisholms accordingly caused a summons to be served on them on 12th May, 1702, for the amounts in which they themselves had been found liable to the chamberlain of Urquhart. The case came before the Commissioners, within the tolbooth of Inverness, on the 26th, when the Grants were defended by a lawyer

named John Taylor, who "gave in certain defences in wreitt, against the officer, against the citationes being one fewer than fyfteen dayes, and the citationes being generall as to the tyme of stealling of the horses, collours, etc., of them, and craveing expenses in respect of the said informalities." Unfortunately for the Chisholms, the lawyer's pleadings prevailed. The Commissioners found that the summons had not been validly served, and ordered the defenders to be cited of new.[1] The subsequent proceedings, if such there were, have not been preserved.

Patrick Dubh Grant of Craskie, whose name appears in these writs, was at one time, says tradition, spoiled of a number of cattle by a party of Macmillans from Loch-Arkaig-side. Pursuing the reivers, with his brother and his friends, he overtook them at Corri-nam-Bronag, between Glen-Loyne and Tomdoun in Glengarry. When he demanded restitution of the cattle, he got the reply, "You may take them, if you can." He tried, and succeeded; but in the struggle several fell on both sides. The Macmillans still lie in the Corrie, where twelve cairns mark their graves. The Glenmoriston slain were brought home, and buried with their kindred in Clachan Mherchaird.

But the most notable event of those stormy times, connected with our Parish, was the Raid of Inchbrine, which occurred in 1691 or 1692.[2] The

1 Precept of Relief, Chisholms *v.* Grants, at Erchless Castle.

2 James Grant of Shewglie, who was killed in the raid, was alive on 14th May, 1691. No reference to him has been found after that date.

story, as handed down by tradition, is as follows. Twenty years or more before the Raid, a vagrant woman from Lochaber arrived at Shewglie, and was provided with food and shelter for the night. Before morning she gave birth to a boy, whom the goodwife of Shewglie offered to keep and rear. The mother consented, and went her way. The boy grew up unchristened, and, as he tended Shewglie's cattle, he was known by the name of Gille Dubh nam Mart—the Black Lad of the Cows. His young companions taunted him with his origin, and made his life miserable; and at last he left Shewglie, and made his way to Lochaber. The Lochabermen soon brought his knowledge of Glen-Urquhart into requisition; and under his guidance a party proceeded to the Glen in search of plunder. Crossing the mountains, they passed by Shewglie, and came suddenly to Inchbrine, while the people were absent in the distant peat moss. Hurriedly lifting a large number of cattle, they retraced their steps along the old path leading through Corribuy and across Glen-Coilty. Summoned from the moss, the men of the Braes speedily gathered at the house of James Grant of Shewglie, and requested that he should lead them against the invaders. Shewglie, whom we have seen distinguishing himself at Killicrankie, had not a drop of coward's blood in his veins; but the followers of the Gille Dubh were more numerous than the Urquhart men who had hastily met, and he advised delay until more were got together. "I will follow the Lochabermen,"

exclaimed his impulsive wife, Hannah Fraser, "and you may stay at home and ply the distaff." Smarting under the taunt, he bade his men follow him, and set out after the raiders, whom he overtook on a small rocky plateau, lying to the south of the burn of Corribuy, ever since known as Carn Mharbh Dhaoine—the Rock of the Dead Men. The Gille Dubh stepped out to meet his late master. "I did not expect," said the latter, "that you would be the one to lift cattle in Glen-Urquhart." "Nor I," replied the young man, "that you would be the one to follow me, seeing I have taken none of yours." On Shewglie's account the spoil was at once given up, and the men of Urquhart turned their faces towards their Glen. They had proceeded but a few paces when a hare started from among the heather and ran across the moor between the two parties. Kenneth Macdonald, from Meiklie-na-h-Aitnich, raised his gun and fired at it. The shot had no effect on the hare, which was believed to be a witch, but it brought disaster on Kenneth and his companions. The Lochabermen thought it was intended for themselves, and returned the fire. A desperate fight followed. For a time the Urquhart men kept their ground, and several of their opponents fell; but in the end they were forced to fly, leaving eight of their number, including Shewglie, dead in the heather. The Lochabermen not only took possession of the cattle again, but they also returned to Shewglie and took every hoof belonging to that township. Hannah Fraser, weeping over the result of her rashness, approached the Gille Dubh and appealed for mercy.

"Remember," said she, "that I long befriended you, and that I am now a widow, and about to become the mother of a fatherless child." There was no mercy in his reply:—"*Ma tha thu trom, beir searrach!*"—"If you are with child, bear a foal!"

The people of Glen-Urquhart removed their dead from Corribuy, and raised cairns on the spots where the bodies were found. These still stand, one larger than the others marking the place where Shewglie fell.[1]

The lady whom Gille Dubh nam Mart so grossly insulted was in due time delivered of a son, who early dreamt of avenging her wrongs. At last, when he had reached manhood, he rode alone to Lochaber, and came to the Gille Dubh's house late in the evening. His request for quarters for the night was readily granted by that worthy, who, in accordance with the rules of Highland hospitality, refrained from enquiring who he was or whence he had come. Finding the young man entertaining, the Gille Dubh conversed with him on the deeds of former days till far into the night. Grant alluded to the Raid of Inchbrine, and induced his host to relate the story. When the tale was told, the young man sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "The hour of vengeance has now arrived." "Who are you?" angrily demanded the Gille Dubh. "I," replied Grant, "am the foal

[1] The Raid of Inchbrine was further commemorated in a lament, the words of which the Author has been unable to recover, with the exception of the first two lines:—

'S ann maduinn Diardaoin
Thog iad Creach Innse-Bhraoin.

(It was on a Thursday morning that they took the spoil of Inchbrine).

which the goodwife of Shewglie carried on the day of the Raid of Inchbrine;" and, with these words, he plunged his dirk into the man's heart. Rushing out of the house, he leapt into his saddle, and was far on his way to Urquhart ere the morning light fell on the lifeless body of Gille Dubh nam Mart.[1]

1 We find frequent references at this time to the unsettled state of the country. Writing in June, 1691, to Hay of Park, Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawdor, after giving an account of raids made upon himself and his neighbours by Lochabermen, concludes:—"I tell you these things anent the condition of the country that you may let my good Lord Crawford know the case we are in, that so the Lords of Counsel may take us under their care and particular protection, and if their Lordships would please to order the Governor of Inverness or the Commander-in-Chief to lodge one hundred men at Dunmaglass, and as many, or more, at Aberarder, with a troop of dragoons (there is plenty of grass in that country) they would do much to secure us and all betwixt Spey and Ness, unless the Highlanders would draw to a head again, which we are boasted—in which case those little garrisons of Aberarder and Dunmaglass may easily in two hours' time retire to Inverness without danger."

Cawdor's suggestion was ignored, and a similar suggestion made eight years later by Lord Tarbat for the protection of the country lying to the north of Loch Ness met the same fate. "When I retired to the North," said his Lordship, writing to the Lord Chancellor in May, 1699, "I saw all people quiet in great part; only the Highland robbers were doing hurt to many of the peaceable subjects, whereof and of a suitable remedy as to the five northern shires and a part of Nairn I acquainted your lordship. And I do yet wish that the posting of some 80 or 100 of the forces from April to December twixt Invermoriston at the East, and the head of Lochourn at the West Sea, may be ordered, which would save these shires who now repine that the soldiers, who live in sloth and idleness, are not doing this good office to a considerable part of the nation, who give their money as frankly as any do for pay to these forces." It was left to Simon, Lord Lovat, to carry Tarbat's idea into effect. General Wade reported in 1725 that "the new-raised companies of Highlanders . . . were sent to their respective stations with proper orders; as well to prevent the Highlanders from returning to the use of arms, as to hinder their committing depredations on the low country. The Lord Lovat's company was posted to guard all the passes in the mountains from the Isle of Skye eastward, as far as Inverness."

CHAPTER XIII

1693—1736

Fairs Established in Glen-Urquhart.—Erection of the Regality of Grant.—Sir Ludovick Grant acquires Abriachan, Culnakirk, and Clunemore.—He makes over Urquhart to Brigadier Grant.—The Brigadier's Career.—The Fifteen.—The Brigadier on the side of King George.—The Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston support the Chevalier.—Glengarry and Glenmoriston in Argyll.—Sheriffmuir.—Keppoch's Raid on Urquhart.—The Brigadier and the Jacobites of Urquhart.—Attainder of Iain a' Chragain.—Invermoriston House Burnt, and Glenmoriston Forfeited.—The Forfeited Estates Commissioners and their Difficulties.—The Court of Sir Patrick Strachan.—The Battle of Glenshiel.—The Commissioners' Factors.—The Factors in Glenmoriston.—Patrick Grant joins Donald Murchison.—The Fight of Ath-nam-Muileach.—General Wade.—Fort-Augustus Built.—Wade's Roads.—Galley placed on Loch Ness.—Glenmoriston purchased for Iain a' Chragain.—The Price and its Application.—Iain a' Chragain's Death.—His Career and Character.

Although Sir Ludovick Grant failed in his endeavours to get pecuniary compensation from the Government for his own and his tenants' losses in connection with the Revolution, certain privileges were conferred upon him which in that age were not without value. On 15th June, 1693, Parliament passed an Act appointing "ane free fair," to be called "Louis Faire" after himself,[1] to be held at the church of

[1] *Ludovick* is a form of *Lewis*, or *Louis*.

Kilmore, in Urquhart, on the last Tuesday of August in each year, and another, to be called "Lady Fair," in honour of his wife, to be held yearly, in November, at the same place. To these fairs all might "resort for buying and selling of bestiall and all sorts of merchant commodities whatsumever that shall be brought thereto be any persones;" and the Laird and his successors were to receive "the haill tolls, customs, emoluments, profits, and dueties belonging or that by the laws and practiques of this realme belongs or appertaines to any in the like caices, to be collected and ingathered be him, his tacksmen, servants, or collectors, to be appointed by him for that effect."[1] On 28th February, 1694, his claims upon the King were further acknowledged by the grant of a crown charter erecting his whole lands, including the Barony of Urquhart, as well as the Barony of Corrimony, the feudal superiority of which he possessed, into the Regality of Grant.[2]

[1] Acts of Parliament, IX., App., 93.

[2] Ibid. X., p. 93. The Regality embraced *inter alia* "the lands and barony of Urquhart, viz., Bordland [Borlum] with the fortalice thereof, 6 merkland of Kill St Ninian with the mill, 6 merkland of Kerrogar, 6 merkland of Drumboy, 3 merkland of Wester Bounload, 3 merkland of Mid Bounload, 3 merkland of Easter Bounload, 6 merkland of Balmakaan, 6 merkland of Garthali, 6 merkland of Polmalie and Delshange, Little Clune, 9 merkland of the Three Inchbrenes, 3 merkland of Meikle Diviagh, with the office of forester of the forest of Clunie, with the shealings thereof, in the Lordship of Urquhart and shire of Inverness, erected of old into one free barony called the Barony of Urquhart, reserving to their Majesties and their successors the property of the forest of Clunie, with the shealings thereof; and also the forty shilling land of new extent of Bounload, in the Barony of Urquhart and shire of Inverness, and the advocation, donation, and right of patronage of the benefice of the Chancellory of Moray, comprehending the churches of Inverawin, Kirkmichell, Knockandoch,

Sir Ludovick, also, notwithstanding his troubles and losses, found opportunities of acquiring new estates. He purchased Abriachan from Alexander Fraser of Kinnerras in 1695, and Culnakirk and Clunemore from John Grant of Glenmoriston in the following year; and having thus consolidated his possessions in the district of Loch Ness, he made them over in 1699 to his eldest son, Colonel Alexander Grant, on the occasion of the latter's marriage with Elizabeth Stewart.[1] The Laird retained his other estates until his death in 1716.

Alexander Grant was a man of considerable note in his time. He represented the County of Inverness in Parliament for several years, took an active part in the negotiations for the union with England, and was one of the Scottish commissioners who signed the Articles of Union in 1706. He was a brave soldier and a capable officer, and saw much service in the wars of the Duke of Marlborough, under whom he received rapid promotion, until, in 1711, he was raised, "for his loyalty, courage, and experience," to the rank of brigadier-general. In January, 1715, he became governor of the fortress of Sheerness, and,

Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and parish churches of Cromdaill, Advie, Abernethie, Kincardin, and Dutchell, rectories and vicarages of the same, in the diocese of Moray, and shires of Inverness and Elgin and Forres, united to the foresaid lands of Easter Bounload in the barony of Urquhart and shire of Inverness; and in like manner the lands and barony of Corriemonie, comprehending the £4 lands of Corriemonie, and £4 lands of Morall, and £8 lands of Four Meiklies, 40s lands of Lochletter, 40s lands of Auchatemrach, 40s lands of Diviagh, 40s lands of Little Cloyne, and the half lands of Cloyne Meikle, and 40s lands of Pitchirrellcroy, extending in all to a £27 land, in the lordship of Urquhart and shire of Inverness."

[1] Chiefs of Grant, I., 501.

on the outbreak of the Jacobite insurrection of that year, captain of the castle of Edinburgh. On the 19th of August he was appointed lord-lieutenant of the counties of Inverness and Banff.

During the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne, the Tory or Jacobite party made little attempt to conceal their intention of bringing about the restoration of the Stewarts on her death. Her somewhat sudden end in August, 1714, however, found them unprepared; and, with few exceptions, they appeared to acquiesce in the accession of George the First. The Earl of Mar, who had great influence in the North, offered his services to George, and obtained from a number of Highland chieftains, including The Chisholm and Iain a' Chragain, Laird of Glenmoriston, a letter entreating him to assure the Government of their loyalty to His Majesty.[1] But these professions were only intended to deceive. In August, 1715, the Earl held the famous Hunting of Braemar, at which it was resolved to rise in arms for James, son of James the Seventh. Glengarry was present at the Hunting, and so also, it is said, was his neighbour, Iain a' Chragain. They were old companions in arms, for they had fought side by side for James' father at Killicrankie. The Laird of Grant and the Brigadier were enthusiastic Whigs, but that circumstance did not prevent their clansmen and tenants taking up the Stewart cause. Under the banner of Glengarry were found Iain a'

[1] Collection of Original Letters and Authentick Papers relating to the Rebellion of 1715, 5.

Chragain and his men of Glenmoriston, as well as a company from Glen-Urquhart, under the command of Macdonald of Aughtera, near Fort-Augustus, with Alexander Cumming, a brother of Dulshangie, and William Grant, a son of Corrimony, as his lieutenants.[1] Alexander Grant of Shewglie, son of that Shewglie who fell at Corribuy, privately exercised his influence in favour of the Stewarts.[2]

The story of The Fifteen may be briefly told. Mar unfurled his standard early in September, and, marching southward, seized Perth, which he made his headquarters. He was opposed by John, Duke of Argyll, commander-in-chief of King George's forces in Scotland. Glengarry and Glenmoriston were sent into Argyll with five hundred men, to raise the Jacobites of that county, and seize Inveraray. They met with no success, and in November they joined Mar—whose forces had already been increased by the arrival of the Chisholms and other northern clans—in time to take part in the battle of Sheriffmuir. In that strange conflict the right wing of each army was victorious, and the left defeated; and both sides claimed the victory. But while the immediate issue was doubtful, the result of the battle, and of the defeat, on the same day, of Mackintosh of Borlum's army in England, was to break the back of the insurrection. Mar's army melted away; and, notwithstanding the appearance on the scene of James

[1] Chiefs of Grant, II., 95.
[2] Memorial, dated 1746, at Castle Grant.

himself, the Rising of the Fifteen speedily came to an end. During its course Macdonald of Keppoch entered Glen-Urquhart with three hundred men, committed great outrages, and carried off a large booty.[1]

The conduct of the men who had gone from Glen-Urquhart to join the Jacobite army gave their landlord, Brigadier Grant, excessive annoyance, and he vowed vengeance against them. "By what information I can get from some prisoners taken at Dunblaine," he wrote from Stirling to his brother, Captain George Grant, on 22nd December, "I find there were some of the Urquhart men with the rebels. The company was commanded by McDonald of Aughtera; Delshangie's brother, Alexander Cumming, was lieutenant, and Corriemonie's sone William Grant, were officers. I have a list of severalls of the private men which I need not send, since you'l gett them from Clury [Grant, Clury, the factor of Urquhart] or Sheugly. I hope, whatever coms of others, you will, with my other friends, take care that these men of myn be secured; be shure you take no baile for them. If they'r not able to maintain themselves, I desire you'l at my charge lett them have a penny worth of bread a day, and that without respect of persons or relations; for, as far as it's possible for me, I will prosecute them and endeavour to make examples of them, that so future ages shall stand in aw of following there footsteps. For if they should escape, I think

[1] Major Fraser's Manuscript, II., 71; Arbuthnot's Life of Lovat, 215.

others would be the readier to imitate them. Besides, with me its ane aggravation of their guilt that they joyn'd the Laird of Glengarry; and for that reason I hope my friends will be at some pains to secure these rebells, but lett [it] be so cautiously manadg'd that the execution of it may be all at the same tym. I'm told that John Grant in Divach has been a very turbulent fellow on this occasion. I therefore desire that he may be keept prisoner, and not allow'd his liberty upon baile, as I hear he purposes; and at the same tym lett him be warn'd out of what land he possesses of myn again [against] the next term. So give your orders to Clury anent it." The Brigadier himself soon followed this angry letter, and placed soldiers in the houses of Erchless, Brahan, and Borlum near Inverness. His visit to Urquhart was not so disastrous to his offending tenants as they had probably expected.

In the Act of Attainder passed by Parliament after the suppression of the insurrection, John Grant of Glenmoriston, The Chisholm, and Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, are named among those who had taken up arms against King George, and were to stand and be adjudged attainted of high treason if they did not surrender themselves for trial on or before 1st June, 1716. Glengarry surrendered, and was pardoned. Glenmoriston and The Chisholm held out; and in their cases the attainder took effect, and their estates were forfeited. Invermoriston House was given to the flames by the Whig soldiers, and, as in the days of the Revolution,

Iain a' Chragain had to betake himself to the natural fastnesses of that glen which, legally, he could no longer call his own. A cave in the face of a rock overhanging the river Moriston, near the fall of Eas-Iararaidh, is still pointed out as his favourite retreat until the King's general amnesty in 1717 made it safe for him to appear in public.

The estate of Glenmoriston—now once again Crown property—was, together with the lands of The Chisholm, the Earl of Seaforth, and other attainted landowners, placed by Parliament under the management of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners. Those gentlemen did not find their task an easy one. The tenants, in most cases, adhered loyally to their old proprietors, and refused to pay rent to the representatives of the Crown. The story of Donald Murchison, Seaforth's chamberlain, collecting the rents of Kintail, and sending them to the Earl on the Continent, is well known. In a similar manner Iain a' Chragain practically continued to enjoy his old patrimony. The great bulk of his estate was found by the Commissioners to be in the occupancy of his near relatives, under rights which it was difficult to set aside. His brother Patrick held the lands of Coineachan and Bealla-Do, under a wadset for 2000 merks Scots. Patrick Grant of Craskie had a similar right to Craskie and Tomcraskie, in security of 3000 merks. Angus or Æneas Grant possessed Duldreggan under a wadset for 3000 merks. John Macdonald held Dulchreichart in security of 500 merks. The Laird's

brother, Duncan, had Wester Inverwick, in security of 1000 merks; his son-in-law, Alexander Grant of Shewglie, tenanted Glenfad, and retained the rent on account of the interest of two sums of 2000 merks and £200 Scots due to him; and, to crown all, his own wife, the daughter of Sir Ewen of Lochiel, was tenant of the home farms of Invermoriston and Blairie in virtue of some right granted to her before the Rising, as a safeguard, probably, against misfortune.[1]

In addition to these legal difficulties, the officers of the Commissioners ran considerable risk of personal violence in the performance of their duties; and, when their surveyor-general, Sir Patrick Strachan of Glenkindy, came north to make enquiry concerning the lands of Glenmoriston and their rental, he did not venture within the bounds of our Parish, but held his court on the Green of Muirtown in Inverness. In response to his summons, the Glenmoriston wadsetters and tenants met him there on 29th October, 1718, and on oath declared the rents and duties payable by them. As so ascertained, the total yearly value of the whole estate amounted only to £691 16s 8d Scots![2]

Rumours of a Spanish invasion in the interest of the Chevalier encouraged the Glenmoriston tenantry, led by their old Laird and his sons, to continue to defy the Commissioners; but their hopes

1 Forfeited Estates Papers, in Register House, Edinburgh.
2 Ibid.

were almost destroyed when, in 1719, General Wightman, marching from Inverness by Strath-errick, Kil-Chuimein, and Glenmoriston,[1] defeated the Spaniards in Glenshiel. Still, however, no rents found their way into the coffers of the Commissioners, and so, to end the farce, two resolute Ross-shire Whigs—William Ross of Easter Fearn, ex-provost of Tain, and his brother, Robert Ross, one of the bailies of that burgh[2]—were appointed factors on the estates of Seaforth, Chisholm, and Glenmoriston, in October, 1720, with instructions to bring them effectually under Government control. The factors began quietly by serving the tenants with demands for payment of their rents. The notices were treated with contempt, and they therefore resolved to visit the estates in person. Starting from Inverness, on 13th September, 1721, under the escort of Lieutenant John Allardyce and a company of the Royal Regiment of North British Fusiliers, and proceeding through Glen-Urquhart, they reached Invermoriston "after some adventures," and there held a court on the 21st, to which they summoned the wadsetters and tenants. A few only obeyed. Easter Fearn acted as baron-bailie, or judge: his brother took the part of prosecutor, and formally demanded payment of the rents of the crops for the years 1715 to 1721, inclusive. Some of the tenants admitted that the amounts claimed were due, and the baron-bailie gave judgment against them. Others swore that, notwithstanding the forfeiture, they had paid their

[1] Jacobite Lairds of Gask, 461. [2] Taylor's History of Tain, 89.

rents to the old Laird—a few adding by way of excuse that they were "stressed thereto." The cases of those who had paid to the Laird were referred to the decision of the Commissioners; while the absent tenants were "held as confessed," and judgment given against them.[1]

But these proceedings were of little avail. Among those who watched them was Iain a' Chragain's second son, Patrick, a young lad of spirit, who bore no love to the gentlemen of Easter Ross, and whose great ambition was to cut short their factorial career. When they left Invermoriston, with the intention of visiting Strathglass and Kintail, Patrick, with a few kindred spirits, took the short route by the Braes of Glenmoriston to the West Coast, and informed Donald Murchison of their approach. Murchison, who had had some military experience as an officer in the Jacobite army, resolved that they should not enter the bounds of the Seaforth country; and, with about three hundred men, and accompanied by Patrick Grant and his companions, he crossed the mountains in the direction of Strathglass, and lay in wait for them in the heights of Glen-Affaric. The factors, having held courts in Strathglass, started with their escort for Kintail. But their progress was stopped at Ath-nam-Muileach, where they were suddenly confronted by Murchison's party. After an exchange of fire, Easter Fearn and Murchison met between the lines, with the result that the factors retraced their steps, leaving, it is said, their

1 Forfeited Estates Papers, in Register House.

commission in Donald's hands. In the skirmish Easter Fearn and his son Walter and several others were wounded. Walter succumbed to his injuries, and his body was carried by the Fusiliers to Beauly, and buried within the walls of the Priory.

With the view of punishing the perpetrators of this outrage, the authorities went to some trouble to ascertain who were present with Murchison. On 11th and 20th November, Robert Gordon of Haugh, Sheriff-Depute of Inverness, held courts of enquiry at Inverness, at which witnesses gave the names of such as they had recognised—among them being Patrick Grant, and Donald Roy, Achnaconeran, son of the Glenmoriston ground-officer.[1] Similar courts were held by John Baillie, also a Sheriff-Depute, at Guisachan on 16th November, and at Duldreggan on the 20th.[2] But these enquiries had no result. The Glenmoriston men escaped the punishment which was intended for them, and Patrick Grant lived to re-acquire the estate of his forefathers, which he enjoyed till his death, at a great age, in 1786.[3]

1 Forfeited Estates Papers. 2 Ibid.

3 The following fragment of a spirited old ballad on the skirmish of Ath-nam-Muileach—The Ford of the Men of Mull—is now printed for the first time. According to tradition, it was composed by a Beauly woman who witnessed the return of the factors and the burial of Walter Ross :—

Ud-ud ! Ud-ud ! Ud-ud-iain !
Bu tubaisteach bhur còmhal,
'Nuair thachair prasgan ullamh ruibh
Aig Ath-nam-Muileach còmhla.

Gur h-olc a chaidh a' chomhairle leibh,
'S i dh'fhag bhur gnothach cearbach—
Gun deach Fear Feàrn a mhaslachadh,
'S gun deach a mhac a mharbhadh.

In the year 1724, Government sent General Wade into the Highlands to enquire into the state of the country; and, as the result of his report and recommendations, he was commissioned to disarm the Highlanders, and to carry out certain suggestions which he had made. On 15th September, 1725, the men of Glenmoriston, Glengarry, and Strathglass made a show of surrendering their arms to him at the then newly erected barrack of

Gun deach Fear Feàrn a mhaslachadh,
'S gun deach a mhac a mharbhadh;
'S gun tug sibh màl a' Mharcuis leibh,
Air chupall each 's air charbad!

Gun deach Fear Feàrn a mhaslachadh,
A's chaidh a mhac a reubadh;
'S chaidh luchd nan cota daithte 'sin
A chasaid a Dhuin-Eideann!

'Nuair chunna sibh nach b'urrainn duibh
Na giullain a bh'aig Dòmhnull,
Gun tug sibh an *commission* da
A fhuair sibh 'ghibht bho Deòrsa!

Guidheam ceud buaidh-thapaidh leat,
A Dhòmhnuill ghasda, ghleusda,
A Dhòmhnuill threubhaich, churanta,
Ni feum dhe arm 's dhe eideadh!

(Ud-ud. Ud-ud! Ud-ud-iain! Awkward was your [the Whigs'] performance on the day on which the sprightly company [of Jacobites] met you at Ath-nam-Muileach. Bad was the result of your consultation: it brought your errand to a feeble end; Fearn was disgraced, and his son was slain. Fearn was disgraced, and his son was slain; and you carried the rent of the Marquis [of Seaforth] with you on a bier between two horses! [A sarcastic allusion to the fact that, instead of returning with the rent, they returned with young Fearn's dead body.] Fearn was disgraced, and his son was mangled; and the men of the coloured coats went to Edinburgh to complain! When you saw that you could not cope with Donald's youths, you gave up to him the commission which you received in gift from [King] George! I wish you a hundred brave victories, O Donald the good and expert, Donald the bold and valorous, who can put arms and accoutrements to proper use!)

Kil-Chumein, or Fort-Augustus; but they concealed their best weapons, and only gave up such as were of little use. Wade, following the example of Cromwell, placed on Loch Ness a galley, capable of carrying fifty or sixty soldiers; an independent company of Highlanders, raised by the then effusively loyal Simon, Lord Lovat, was placed along a line stretching from Invermoriston to Loch Duich, with the object of preventing the passage of cattle-lifters from the countries of the Macdonalds and Lochiel; and, most important of all, those military roads which still bear the General's name, were gradually constructed—one of them running from Fort-Augustus across the hills to Aonach in Glenmoriston, and thence westward to Glenelg.

Notwithstanding all these measures, the Forfeited Estates Commissioners found it impossible to make the lands under their charge of any value to the public, and their sale was at last decided on. In most cases friends took means to secure their restoration to the old owners, and the kindly clannishness of the Gael precluded competition by outsiders. After more than one attempt to dispose of the estate of Glenmoriston by public auction, the Commissioners sold it privately to the Laird of Grant's second son, Ludovick, a young advocate who was at the time known as Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, he having succeeded to that property through his mother. The deed of sale was signed on 3rd December, 1730. Ludovick's entry was held to have been at Whitsunday of that year, and the

price was £1086 sterling, with interest at five per cent. from that term till payment. The price was paid on 21st July, 1732, when the Barons of Exchequer conveyed the estate to Ludovick, who really acted for behoof of old Iain a' Chragain and his family. "There seemed," says Mr Hill Burton, in reference to the forfeited estates,[1] "to be a tacit combination through the community to enclose the property with a net-work of debts, burdens, and old family settlements, through the meshes of which the Commissioners could only extract fractional portions." In the case of Glenmoriston, Iain a' Chragain and his friends had arranged matters so well that the Commissioners extracted nothing, save arrears of feu-duty due to the Crown. No duties had been paid since the time of Killicrankie, and the arrears now amounted to £75 3s 4d.[2]

In May, 1733, Ludovick conveyed the estate, not to Iain a' Chragain, who was still under attainder, but to his eldest son, John. He, however, retained the right of superiority of part of Duldreggan, Inverwick, Blairie, Over Inver, and Nether Inver, in his own person.

Young John Grant, the new proprietor, died on 3rd December, 1734. Iain a' Chragain survived till 30th November, 1736. Born in 1657, when Cromwell ruled, Iain saw the Restoration of the Stewarts in 1660, and their final expulsion in 1688. He fought for them at Killicrankie in 1689, and saw

1 History of Scotland, VIII., 350.

2 See Appendix G for account showing application of price.

his mansion destroyed and his country pillaged for his pains. He fought for them again at Sheriffmuir in 1715, after which his residence was again given to the flames, and his estates forfeited. He was essentially a man of strife—eager, bold, and fearless; and in his younger days, when there was no fighting to do, he gave scope to the natural bent of his mind in a long litigation with the Laird of Grant about his family's right to Balmacaan. In the estimation of his people he was a perfect chieftain; and traditions which still survive show how deep the impression was that his deeds made upon the popular mind, and with what genuine affection his memory has been cherished even to the present day.[1]

1 By his second wife, Janet, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Iain a' Chragain had ten sons and five daughters, and at the time of the lady's death in 1759, their descendants numbered 200 [*Scots Magazine*]. As a remarkable instance of the linking of distant ages by the lives of individuals, it may be mentioned that Iain, who was born in the days of the Commonwealth, saw his grandson, Colonel Hugh Grant of Moy (son of Grant of Shewglie), who was born in 1733, and survived till the year 1822. A sculptured stone covers the grave (in Inchermoriston churchyard) of Iain a' Chragain and his son John, bearing the following inscription :—"This stone is erected here in memory of the Much Honoured John Grant, Laerd of Glenmoriston, who dyed Novr. 30, 1736, aged 79; and his son, John Grant, Younger Laerd of Glenmoriston, who departed this life ye 3d Decemr., 1734, Aged 35 years." Adjoining is the tombstone of Iain's wife, on which there is the inscription :—"This stone is erected here in memory of the much Honoured Janet Cameron, Lady to the Honoured John Grant of Glenmoriston, Daughter to the Honoured Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, who departed this life, Feby. 1759, aged years."

CHAPTER XIV

1719—1746

Sir James Grant.—The Forty-Five.—The Three Alexanders of Urquhart support Prince Charles.—A Message of Welcome to the Prince.—Agitation and Threatenings.—Jacobite Recruits from Urquhart and Glenmoriston.—Ludovick Grant's Policy of Caution.—The Prince's Letter to the Gentlemen of Urquhart.—His Cause espoused by the Minister.—A Sabbath Day's Meeting in support of the Prince.—The Factor's Reports to Ludovick.—Ludovick's Letters to the Factor.—Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston joins the Prince.—Their First Interview.—Prestonpans.—Colonel Macdonell's Demand.—Achmonie's Mission to Castle Grant.—Ludovick's Message to the Gentlemen of Urquhart.—Macdonell in Urquhart.—An interrupted March.—The Macdonalds and the Frasers in Urquhart.—The Conference of Tornashee.—Doubts and Hesitations.—Corrimony and Achmonie visit Ludovick.—The Earl of Cromartie, the Master of Lovat, and Macdonald of Barisdale in the Parish.—Achmonie's Undertaking to the Laird of Grant.—The Cause of the Prince prospers in the Parish.—The Factor in Despair.—The Prince's arrival in Inverness.—New Recruits from Urquhart.

Brigadier Grant, who died childless in 1719, was succeeded by his brother, Sir James Grant. Sir James sat in Parliament from 1722 till his death in 1747; and in his latter years he left the management of his estates to his son, Ludovick Grant—the "Ludovick Colquhoun" of our last chapter.

Ludovick had practised for a time as a Scots advocate, and he put his legal training to good use in steering clear of both Hanoverian and Jacobite complications during the struggle of The Forty-Five.

After the unfortunate Rising of The Fifteen, the Old Chevalier made no serious effort to regain the crown of his forefathers. But he was still looked on by the Jacobites as their rightful monarch, and their hopes rose as his son, Charles Edward, grew in years and began to show signs of the manliness and energy of the old Stewart race. In 1743 those hopes seemed about to be realised. France prepared to invade Britain with 15,000 men, and invited the young Prince to accompany the expedition. Charles ardently responded; but the ships which were to carry the army across the English Channel were scattered in a storm, and the enterprise was abandoned. In vain did Charles appeal to the French Government not to forsake him. Vain also were his appeals to the Spanish Court. Both French and Spaniards promised much, and did nothing; and in the end the eager Prince resolved to gain an empire without their aid, or perish in the attempt. Sailing from France in a small vessel belonging to a private gentleman, he arrived at Loch-nan-Uamh on 19th July, 1745, accompanied only by seven friends and one attendant. He landed on the 25th, and despatched letters to such of the Highland chiefs and other persons of influence as were likely to assist him. The news of his landing speedily spread, and, notwithstanding the feelings of disappointment with which the Highlanders heard of the

wretchedness of his retinue and the slenderness of his stores, many hastened to take part in what must have appeared to the most sanguine of them as an all but desperate attempt to drive the Guelphs off the British throne.

The Camerons and the Macdonalds early joined the Prince, and endeavoured to induce the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston to follow their example. In this they had the co-operation of the Three Alexanders of Urquhart—Alexander Grant of Corrimony, who had his own tenants at his beck and call; Alexander Grant of Shewglie, to whom the inhabitants of the then populous districts of Shewglie, Lochletter, and Inchbrine, looked for guidance; and Alexander Mackay of Achmonie, the friend and adviser of the inhabitants of the "Strath," or the portion of the Glen lying to the east of Allt-a'-Phuill, or the Burn of Polmaily. Of these Shewglie was the oldest and the ablest.[1] His sympathies were with the Stewarts in 1715, and his loyalty to them grew as his years increased.[2] As soon as he heard of Charles' landing, he sent James Grant, son of his cousin-german, Robert Grant, who had fought at

1 Ludovick Grant described him as "a man very remarkable for Highland cunning."—Memorial to the Attorney-General (copy at Castle Grant). The documents quoted in this chapter are at Castle Grant, except where otherwise indicated, and some of them are printed in the "Chiefs of Grant."

2 Shewglie's "connections" were strong Jacobites. His father was that James Grant who fought for King James at Killicrankie, and was slain at Corribuy. His first wife was a daughter of The Chisholm; his second, a daughter of Iain a' Chragain, and grand-daughter of Sir Ewen of Lochiel. One of his daughters was married to Cameron of Clunes, in Lochaber.

Sheriffmuir, to him with a message of welcome. He composed songs in his praise, which were sung at every fireside in the Parish. The sympathies of the people were with the Prince, and the friends of King George began to be alarmed. Lord President Forbes of Culloden, writing on 15th August to Sir John Cope, who was leading an army northward towards Corriarrack and Fort-Augustus, informs him that, according to report, the Camerons and Macdonalds "are endeavouring, by threats, to force their neighbours, the Grants of Glenmoristone and Urquhart, to join them in arms," and concludes—"If what I have before mentioned is true, that the Highlanders who have joined the Adventurer from France are beginning to use threats to compel their neighbours to join them, it will naturally occur to you that the immediate presence of the troops is necessary."[1] On the same day Brodie of Brodie writes Ludovick Grant that "Sir John Cope will be at Fort-Augustus probably on Saturday with his troops, so that your people of Urquhart need not be afraid of the threatenings sent them, of which the bearer Corrymonie will give you the particulars."

The threatenings of the Camerons and Macdonalds were not necessary to induce the young men of our Parish to place themselves under the standard of the Prince. That standard was raised at Glenfinnan on 19th August. The men of Glenmoriston joined immediately afterwards, and the Macdonalds and Camerons in Glen-Urquhart were

1 Culloden Papers, 372.

eager to follow. These circumstances were reported by Sir James Grant's brother—Major George Grant, Governor of the Castle of Inverness, or Fort George, as it was then called—to the Lord President, who replied on 26th August:—"I am willing to believe that the intelligence you sent me from Urquhart is not precisely true. That fools might have join'd I doubt not; but I flatter myself their numbers are small; and yet I shall give notice to Sir John [Cope] of the rumor. In my opinion you ought forthwith to acquaint your nephew [Ludovick Grant] with the arrivall of Sir John amongst us, that he may give the proper directions to hold his people in readiness to join him, and to act by his directions, if there shall be occasion."[1]

On the same date Major Grant wrote to Ludovick, as Culloden suggested, informing him of Sir John Cope's movements, and adding—"Glenmoristone and Glengary's people joyned them [the Jacobites] on Saturday, and I'm affraid some of the McDonalds and Camerons in Urquhart will follow their example on account of the threatenings they have got."

The Prince arrived at Aberchalder, near Fort-Augustus, on the 27th, and next day marched across Corriarrack into Badenoch. Finding that Sir John Cope had turned towards Inverness, he hastened southward, and took possession of Perth on 4th September.

Ludovick Grant appears to have been at heart a sincere enough Whig. The new dynasty had, how-

1 Culloden Papers, 388.

ever, no great claim upon his services. His grandfather suffered much in the cause of William the Third; but his prayers for compensation were left unanswered. In the Rising of The Fifteen, his uncle, Brigadier Grant, made large sacrifices for George the First, and got little thanks for his pains. The practice of giving without receiving had, in Ludovick's estimation, been carried far enough, and he followed the example of certain other Highland chiefs, and adopted a policy of caution.[1] At an interview with Corrimony, on the 15th or 16th of August, all he exacted from his vassal was a promise that, in the coming struggle, he should do nothing on either side contrary to his will. At a later period he took a somewhat similar undertaking from another vassal, Mackay of Achmonie. In his letters to Urquhart he urged the gentlemen and tenants of that country to stay peaceably at home, without indicating in the slightest degree that they were under any obligation to fight for King George; and, while he himself kept up a fair appearance towards the Government, he did nothing, so long as the issue was doubtful, that might subject him unduly to the

[1] As early as 1737, Ludovick wrote his father in the following terms:—"Upon refleeting what our familie has suffered by pollitieks, and throwing out our money upon all occasions for the seruiee of the Government, without ever getting ourselves reimbursed, and at the same time observing that former services seem rather to be a drawback upon us, in place of recommending us to the favour of the present Ministrie, I think it highlie prudent to live retired, and to endeavour to recover the losses our familie has sustained. . . . I see our familie in possession of noething but a vast manie fair promises made, as appears to me, without anie view of being performed. You know verie well what assuranees I had, and you know what friendship I met with."

vengeance of the Jacobites in the event of the Prince's ultimate success. He raised six hundred men in Strathspey, ostensibly in support of the Whig Government; but beyond accompanying Macleod of Macleod for a few days in an expedition into Aberdeenshire, and sending to his uncle, the Governor of Inverness Castle, a hundred men who subsequently surrendered to the Prince, and some of whom joined his standard, he made no real effort for King George until after Charles was crushed at Culloden. According to a Strathspey tradition, he in all this followed the advice of a faithful clansman, Alexander Grant, better known as Alasdair Mor Og—Big Alexander the Younger—who recommended him to let those fight who had nothing to lose.[1] His conduct met with the approbation of his father, who desired him, in a letter written from London, and which was intercepted by the Highland army, "to stay at home and take care of his country, and join no party."[2] It was, however, impossible entirely to restrain the men of Urquhart. The Three Alexanders continued to agitate for the Prince, and their appeals were seconded by the Rev. John Grant, minister of the Parish. Charles acknowledged Shewglie's welcome by addressing a letter to himself and the other gentlemen of Urquhart, which was publicly read by the minister at a meeting held in Kilmore churchyard

1 Tradition communicated to the Author by Alexander's descendant, the late Major William Grant, factor of Urquhart.

2 Letter, John Grant, factor of Urquhart, to Ludovick Grant, dated 17th September, 1745.

immediately after divine service upon a Sunday in the end of August.[1] Charles' Declaration and his father's Manifesto were also read and interpreted, and a proposal made that a certain number of the tenants should join the Prince. Among those present was John Grant of Ballintomb, factor of Urquhart, who hastened to Castle Grant for Ludovick's instructions. These were that the Urquhart men should remain peaceably at home. Corrimony and his companions represented to the people that the young Laird, although outwardly on the side of King George, had a "secret will" in favour of the Prince. Their word was accepted, and Ludovick's orders were disregarded. The factor again reported, and Ludovick wrote him as follows, on 5th September:—"I have just now received yours, about eight at night. I know you have numbers of people spreading numbers of stories of purpose to intimadat my people of Urquhart to run to their ruin. I know it's said the late Earl Marshall has landed with several thousands. I can assure you not one word of that is founded on truth; whereas I have certain information last night that there is 5000 good troops at Edinburgh, and severals of the regiments from Ostend have landed; as also 6000 Dutch are daylie expected, and as many Dains; this being the case, you may judge what must happen to any who appear against the Government. For my own part, what I desire and require of my friends

[1] Memorial by Ludovick to the Attorney-General (copy at Castle Grant), and letter, John Grant, factor of Urquhart, to Ludovick.

and tennents is to remain at home, and cutt down their cornes peaceably, as we are doing in Strathspey, and as most of Strathdoun and Glenlivat are determined to do. . . . I shall conclude my letter with desiring you make my compliments to the gentlemen of Urquhart, and let them know that I desire you and them to spirite up the tennents and inhabitants of Urquhart to remain peaceable at home, and to assure them of all encouragement from me, nay, of favours, if they are obedient; whereas, be they who they will that will act otherways than I desire, they may expect the treatment that they will justly merite from me. This I desire you read publickly; and if any after this spirite up my tennents to act a part against me, they may come to suffer for it. Let nobody pretend to make the people imagine I have a secret and revealed will; for, if they insinuate any such malicious notions among my tennents, assure you the people they are deceiving them, and hurrying of them to their destruction; and, that my sentiments may appear, I desire you keep this letter as an evidence against them." And in a postscript he adds—"I begin to think that some people want to send off some of my tennents of purpose to make a complyment of them poor people, without the least regard to their real interest; but warn you the tennents to take care of themselves, as I shall do of them conform to their behaviour upon this occasion. I must take care of my tennents, who pay me my rent, and will show them marks of kindness which none other can do;

and before they be much older, if they behave well, I will do them what nobody who may spirite them up against me can do. Some folks who may hear this letter read ought to consider well what they are doing."

This message was more explicit in its terms than the Laird of Grant's tenants had been led to expect, and the immediate effect of it was to prevent them from joining Corrimony, who, with twenty of his own people, had come as far as Milton on his way to the Highland army. Upon the advice of Shewglie, Corrimony returned home "this tyme;" but he declared that if Ludovick did not soon join the Prince, he would "beg his excuse, and follow his own inclinations."[1] Two of Shewglie's sons, Robert and Alexander, were not so considerate. They set out for the Prince's army on the 11th, taking with them a dozen young fellows from the Braes. On their way through the Strath their little company increased to twenty. Among their followers were their relations, Alexander Grant, tenant of Easter Inchbrine, or Balbeg, and his brother James, who had conveyed Shewglie's message to the Prince. Alexander's conduct cost him the post of forester, for which he was an applicant when the troubles began, but before they ended a son was born to him, whom he named Charles after the Prince, and who, as one of the results of Culloden, went to India, and in time became chairman of the East India Com-

[1] Letter, the factor to Ludovick.

pany.[1] The situation of forester was given to "a very honest fellow" named Macmillan, but for whom, reported the factor, "all the Macmillans of this country would have joined Lochiel."

Shewglie's sons were joined at Invermoriston, on the 12th, by the Laird of Glenmoriston—that Patrick who opposed the Forfeited Estates Commissioners in 1721, and who was popularly known by the name of Padruig Bui, or Patrick the Yellow—with such of his men as were not already with the Prince. The force thus formed—about 350 men—hastened south across Corriarrack, and reached Edinburgh at daybreak on the 20th, having, in their eagerness to take part in the expected battle between Charles and Sir John Cope, travelled all night.[2] Patrick Bui, travel-stained and unshaven, rushed into the Prince's presence at Holyrood, and tendered his own and his companions' services. Charles received him with a remark, probably half-jocular, regarding the rough condition of his beard. "It is not beardless boys who are to do your Royal Highness's turn," retorted the offended chieftain.[3] "The Chevalier," says Sir Walter Scott, "took the rebuke in good part;" the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, placing themselves under the banner of Glengarry, instantly joined in the march out of

1 Alexander is referred to by Lord Lovat in 1737, as "One Alexander Grant, a soldier in Captain Grant's company, and son to Robert Grant in Milntown, a cousin-german of Shewglie's."—Chiefs of Grant, II., 362.

2 Henderson's History of the Rebellion; *Caledonian Mercury* of 23rd September, 1745.

3 Scott's "Waverley," note 36.

Edinburgh; and on the early morrow, and in the right wing of the Highland army, they had their full share in the destruction of Cope's forces on the field of Prestonpans. After the battle the bulk of the Glenmoriston men returned to their homes, but about a hundred, along with the twenty men of Urquhart, followed Charles into England, took part in the stirring events of his masterly retreat, and were present at "every engagement the young Pretender had, until they were defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden."[1]

The Jacobite leaders rightly judged that the victory of Prestonpans would have the effect of encouraging such as were well affected towards the Prince, but had not as yet ventured to join his army; and with the view of bringing such under his standard, Colonel Angus Macdonell, second son of Glengarry, a chivalrous youth of nineteen, was sent north with a small company. Macdonell had his eye especially on Urquhart, where the leading men were known to be friendly, and on 30th September he wrote from Dalwhinnie the following letter to the factor:—

"Dear Sir,—These serves to give notice that I am thus farr on my way to Glengarry, and being clad with the Prince's orders to burn and harass all people that does not immediatly joyn the standard; and, ase I have particullar orders to raise your contrie, I doe by these beg the favoure you, on

1 Letter, Ludovick Grant to the Duke of Newcastle, 1746—copy at Castle Grant.

receipt of this line, to have att lest one hundred men readdie in five days after receipt of this, to joyn my standart at Invergarrie; and, tho contrarie to my inclinations, in caice of not dew observance to this my demand, I shall march to your contrie with the gentlemen here in company, Keapoch's brother, and Tirnadrish, &c., and shall putt my orders in execution with all rigour; and, ase I have the greatest regaird for Grant and all his concerns, I beg you give nether your contrie or me any truble I doe not choose to give; and your readdie complyance to this favour will much oblidge him who is sincerely, dear sir, your most humble servant,

"ANGUS MCDONELL."

"P.S.—Lett me have your answer per bearer, which will determine me how to behave."

The bearer of this letter also conveyed a message to the Three Alexanders of Urquhart, who deliberated earnestly regarding the course they should follow. Anxious to know what effect the Prince's successes had upon Ludovick's mind, they despatched Achmonie to Castle Grant. The wary young Laird was still sitting on the fence, and the course of events had not yet clearly shown him on which side he should leap. He therefore, on 6th October, delivered to Achmonie a letter addressed "to the Gentlemen of Urquhart," in which he spoke much of their fealty to himself as their feudal superior, but not one word of their higher duty—from the Whig point of view—to his own superior, King George. "Achmonie," he wrote, "has communicate to me

the subject you have had latelie under your deliberation. All the return I will give you, considering what I formerlie writt to my Chamberlane, and which he communicate to you, is this, that whoever among you don't complie with my directions in this present conjuncture, which is to remain peaceable at home, and to be readie to receive my directions as your superior, and as master of my own esteat, must resolve to disobey me at your own perrill; and as I have firmlie determined that whoever shall insult me, or disturb anie part of my esteat, shall meett with the returns such ane insult will merite, I am hopefull non of my neighbours will act a part by me which I could not and can't allow myself to think them capable of. I can't conceive the least tittle anie man can have to command anie of my vassals or tennants but myself; therfor whoever deserts me to follow anie other at this time, I must look upon it as a disobedience to me, which I will never forgive or forgett to them and theirs. I am perfectlie perswaded all the tennants will adhere and keep firm to me if they are not lead astray by bad advice, which I hope they will not follow. I am, gentlemen, your friend, and will continue so if not your own faults.—Lud. Grant."[1]

Achmonie returned to Glen-Urquhart with this message, but resolved to respect it only so far as it suited his purpose to do so. He found Colonel Macdonell in the Glen, not burning and harassing

[1] Copy Letter at Castle Grant.

the country, as threatened in the Dalwhinnie letter, but doing what he could, by fair promises and glowing accounts of the Prince's triumphs and prospects, to induce the people to follow him. Ludovick had previously ordered the factor to convene the tenants of Urquhart, should they be unduly pressed by the Jacobites, and to bring them to Strathspey, where they would be more under his own eye. The men were accordingly got together on 8th October, and such as consented to go to Strathspey marched as far as Drumbuie, where they were stopped by Colonel Macdonell, accompanied by Shewglie, Corrimony, and Achmonie. The factor may be allowed to tell the story:—"In obedience to your orders," he writes to Ludovick, "I convien'd all the tenants of this country this day, in order to march them to Strathspey, and there was only sixty or seventy of the tenants that agreed to goe with me. Dell[1] and I came with all the men that joyn't ous, the lenth of Drumbuie,[2] so farr upon our way to Strathspey, and Collonell McDonald and all the gentilmen in this country came up with ous there, and one and all of the gentilmen, but Shewglie and his sone, swore publickly to the tenants, if they did not return imediately, or two nights thereafter, that all there corns would be burnt and destroyed, and all there cattle carried away; and when the tenants

1 James Grant of Dell in Strathspey, a tenant in Urquhart.

2 That is, "Upper Drumbuie," the original Drumbuie, past which the old road to Inverness, by Abriachan and Caiplich, went. The farm now known as Drumbuie was, until recently, called Kerrowgair.

was so much thretned by the gentilmen, as well as by Mr McDonald, they wou'd not follow me one foot further; and, upon the tenants returning, Mr McDonald assur'd me that this country wou'd be quit safe from any hurt from him; and not only so, but as some of the gentilmen that came north with him hade the same orders as he had to distroy this country if wee did not joyn them, he sincerely assur'd me that he wou'd do all he cou'd to prevent those gentilmen from comeing, and if he cou'd not preveall upon them to keep back, that he wou'd run me ane express in a few days, to put me on my guard and acquaint me of there comeing; but one thing I assure you of, or [that is, before] ten days that this country will be ruin'd.

"Lord Lovat has not appointed a day for his marching as yet, for am told that he has the meall to make that he carrys alongs with him for his men's subsistence. There's a report here this day that ther's two thousand French landed at Cromarty last Saturday, with Prince Charles' brother. You'll please lett me have your advice how to behave, for am in a very bade situation." And he adds in a postscript—"Achmonie did not act a right part."

By this time Lord Loudon was on his way with his regiment of Whig Highlanders to Inverness, which he reached on the 11th: and tidings had reached the North of the arrival of foreign troops in support of King George, and of the great preparations made in England to suppress the insurrection. To Ludovick it appeared hardly possible that

Charles could prevail against the mighty armies which were being got together to oppose him. He therefore began to see more clearly on which side of the fence his interest lay; and in his reply to the factor—dated 10th October—he showed more of the Hanoverian partisan than he had hitherto done. "I am not at all surpris'd," said he, "at the conduct of the gentilmen of Urquhart, for, as they seem determd to disobey my repeated orders, they want to preveall with my tenants to do so likeways; however, now that they most have heard that General Legonier, with at least 18,000 of our troops that have come from Flanders, and the Dutch, and that there 12,000 Danes and the remainder of the British troops dayly expected, and that no bodie even at Edinburgh pretend to say that the French can spare any of there troops, I fancie they will soon see there follie, and they must be satisfied that in a little tyme I will make them repent there conduct, and they will see the numbers they belived would joyn the rebells dwindle to very few, if any at all. Whenever you hear any motion among your neighbours, make the best of your way for this place [Castle Grant], and see to bring those men with you who were comeing last day, and as many more as you can, and assure them I will see what losses they sustain repaid, and shall do all in my power afterwards to serve them when others must fly the country. Don't lett any of the gentilmen know the day you design to march over with the men, otherways they may bring a possie to stope you,

which will not be in there power if you be upon your guard. I think you ought to have spyes in the neighbouring countrys. See if you can gett money from the tenants who are dew, that wee may clear when you come over."

The Government preparations which made the young Laird incline so visibly to the side of King George had the effect of throwing the less cautious gentlemen of Urquhart more unreservedly into the cause of the Prince. On the 14th Corrimony was at Castle Dounie (Beaufort) in consultation with old Lord Lovat, who secretly worked for Charles and openly wrote letters to Government officials protesting his zeal for the King. The result of the interview was that next day Corrimony wrote Ludovick declaring his determination to "rise in arms to join the Prince," and informing him that the Master of Lovat was to come with three hundred men to force the Urquhart men to join the Frasers, who were about to march for the Highland army. On the 16th six score Macdonalds arrived in the Glen, and threatened that they and the Frasers would "spreath the country if the whole people did not join them." The factor advised the people to let the Macdonalds drive their cattle away rather than yield to their threats, and promised that any loss which they might sustain would be made good by Ludovick; and for the moment his advice was taken. But the Prince's friends continued the agitation. On the 22nd a great meeting, convened by Corrimony, Achmonie, and James Grant, Shewglie's eldest son, was held at Tornashee. The Master

of Lovat and Macdonald of Barisdale attended, and urged the Prince's claims with such effect that about sixty of the tenants agreed to join them. The factor, however, did his best to dissuade them, and the Macdonalds having foolishly threatened to harry the country if they did not rise, they changed their minds in anger, declared that "they would not disobey Mr Grant, their Master's, positive commands to them to continue dutiful, and swore while there was a drop blood in their bodies they would not allow the Macdonalds carry off their cattle." By their boastings the Macdonalds had spoiled the game; and Barisdale and the Master of Lovat withdrew, disappointed, to Castle Dounie, leaving their followers behind them. The interference of the factor gave great offence. Young Lovat promised to return with two hundred more men for the purpose of "forcing" the Urquhart men who had accepted his advice; and Corrimony, Achmonie, and young Shewglie vowed that the first of them who should meet him would give him a beating. It was, however, found unnecessary to carry these threatenings into effect. The feeling of resentment roused by the Macdonalds quickly abated, and when, on the 25th, they and the Frasers marched to Castle Dounie, they were accompanied by forty of the Urquhart tenants. Lord Lovat, however, was not yet prepared to send his clan to the Prince, and the Urquhart men returned to their homes to await his final decision.[1]

1 Letters and memorials at Castle Grant; and Narrative prepared in 1746 by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, at Castle Grant.

Ludovick Grant had for some time been pressed to send to Lord Loudon, who was at Inverness, the independent company which he had raised, and which was commanded by a son of Grant of Rothiemurchus; but he found excuses for keeping it in Strathspey. When, however, he heard of the proceedings at the meeting of the 22nd, he intimated to the Lord President his intention to march with 500 men through Inverness to Urquhart, "in order to prevent any more of the people of that country being forced out upon the other side, contrary to their inclinations and their duty to him."[1] This intimation was conveyed in a letter from Lord Deskford to the Lord President, which only arrived on the morning of the 26th—the very day on which the Grants were to reach Inverness. The Lord President at once consulted Lord Loudon. They were surprised and alarmed at the sudden energy displayed by a man who had not hitherto shown excessive zeal for the King, and whose real sentiments were not wholly beyond suspicion. "I wish with all my heart," immediately replied the President, "and so does Lord Loudon, that Mr Grant had communicated his design to us before he set out with such numbers, which may have the effect to begin horse-play before we are sufficiently prepared. However, since he is in the way, and has given no notice of his route, I cannot tell how, even if it were necessary, to prevent it; and we must now do the best we can."[2]

1 Culloden Papers, 431. Sir Archibald Grant, who accompanied Ludovick, states the number of his men at 700.—Narrative, at Castle Grant.

2 Culloden Papers, 431.

There was no great cause for the President's alarm. Early on the 26th the factor and Dell arrived at Ludovick's camp with news of the departure of the Macdonalds from Glen-Urquhart; and if he ever seriously intended to leave the bounds of Strathspey, the intention was now dropped. "This day," he wrote to the President, from Inverlaidnan, in Duthil, "I proposed to have marched to relieve the poor tenants of Urquhart, who have been most scandallouslie used; but just now I have ane express from that countrie, informing me that the Macdonells and Frasers have left the countrie, after carrying about fortie of the men with them. This day Rothie's[1] companie shall be compleated, and will be at Inverness Tuesday or Wednesday at farthest: for the men, who have been all here since Wednesday, will require a day or two at home to gett readie."[2]

Forbes was relieved to learn that Ludovick had not started on his expedition to Urquhart; but he could not understand the delay in sending the company to Inverness. "I am not sorry," he wrote him on the 27th, "that the whole number did not then come, as no plan had been concerted for the disposition of them; but I am under some concern that so many of them as were proper for composeing Rothie's company did not come, because those were expected some time ago, and the company from Sutherland arrived the night before the last. What I therefore

1 Rothiemurchus.
2 Culloden Papers, 432.

send you back this messenger for, is, to beg that Rothie's company may march without loseing a moment; because we have rely'd upon them; and the example to others will be bad, if they who were rely'd on should prove dilatory. The oppression of your Urquhart people, I am affraid, continues still, and there may, for ought I know, be occasion to march a considerable body to relieve them from it; but that in due time may be concerted properly and executed, tho' it ought not to hinder the immediate march of the company, who, in all events, will be so far in their way."[1]

Rothie's company, consisting of 100 men, arrived in Inverness on 3rd November, and was employed to garrison the Castle under Ludovick's uncle, Major George Grant. In the following February the Major surrendered the Castle to the Jacobites: whereupon some of his Grants went over to the Prince.

The efforts of Corrimony and Achmonie to raise the men of Urquhart did not meet with the success they expected, and they became somewhat uneasy regarding their own safety. They therefore journeyed to Castle Grant on 28th October to confer with Ludovick, and took with them Jane Ogilvie, Corrimony's wife, to intercede for them. A letter from the watchful factor reached Ludovick before them. "With the greatest submission," wrote he, "I think you ought to see non of them, as they have acted

[1] Culloden Papers, 433.

such a part by you as they have done; and I asure you that I can prove againest them what will forfite both their esteats; and if you forgive them when they are so much in your power, you ought in justice to meet with the same disaster if there was a disturbance in the nation yearly, which am sure will be the case if you'll not use this two lairds as they deserve. Corimonie belives that his lady will make his peice with you, which I hope he will be mistaken in." The two lairds had undoubtedly done enough to forfeit not only their estates but also their lives, but they had reason to believe that Ludovick, notwithstanding his letters, did not yet wish to commit himself irretrievably to the cause of King George, and they did not hesitate to place themselves in his power. So far as he was concerned the time for final resolve had not yet arrived; and, despite the factor's advice, he received and conferred with the Jacobite leaders of Urquhart, and allowed them to return to their homes in peace.

On leaving Urquhart Barisdale proceeded to Lochbroom and Assynt, where, in concert with the Earl of Cromartie, he endeavoured to force the people to rise. In this he failed. Early in November he returned to Castle Dounie, with the intention of marching south with the Master of Lovat and the Frasers, while Lord Cromartie and his son proceeded to Urquhart with 150 or 160 men, and there awaited him.[1] Barisdale and his Macdonalds, and young Lovat, with six or seven hundred

1 Culloden Papers, 247.

Frasers, arrived in Urquhart on the 13th or 14th, and were met by a great number of people in public meeting at Pitkerrald.[1] The Laird of Grant's tenants still hesitated, and the old threat of taking their cattle and destroying their corn was resorted to. A quarrel between Barisdale and the Master of Lovat, who both claimed the right to command them when they should have made up their minds to join the Prince's army, probably saved them. A severe snowstorm also helped to cool the ardour of the Frasers, and they returned to their own country.[2] Barisdale proceeded to Glenmoriston, having previously written Grant of Duldreggan ordering him to have the men of that Glen ready to march with him to Perth, "otherwise he would destroy and burn it stoop and roop." His threat was disregarded by Duldreggan, but some of the Glenmoriston men joined him, and the burning and destruction did not take place.

Lord Lovat made the visit of the Frasers and the Macdonalds to Urquhart the subject of a strange correspondence with the Earl of Loudon. That visit had undoubtedly been made at his own instance, and for the sole purpose of raising the country for the Prince. But it did not suit him to admit so much. He wrote Loudon on the 19th informing him that his son had been in Urquhart protecting the people from the Macdonalds; and in another letter, which he addressed to the Earl on

1 Ludovick Grant's Memorial to the Attorney-General.
2 Ibid. Trial of Lord Lovat.

the 23rd, he wrote—"I can tell your Lordship with pleasure that there is not a man belonging to me, or who are called my people, but are at home, and peaceable in their own houses. The last of them came home Wednesday night from Urquhart, where they were with my son, who went to Urquhart of purpose to preserve the Grants in Urquhart from being opresst by the M'Donells, and I am glad to hear he has behaved so well that he has the blessings of all that country people; and the Laird of Grant's doers have promised to represent to their master, who is my son's cousin-germain, how kindly and oblidgeing The Master of Lovat behaved to all the country. It was but his duty; but in the days that we are in it is very rare to find a man that does what he ought to do to a friend and relation."[1] These letters, it is needless to say, were intended to deceive. Loudon, however, refused to be imposed upon, and when the time of reckoning came, Lovat's duplicity cost him his life.

After the departure of the Frasers and the Macdonalds, the Three Alexanders of Urquhart made themselves more active than ever in endeavouring to enlist volunteers for the Prince. These "fresh attempts to debauch his vassals and tenants in Urquhart" did not meet with Mr Ludovick Grant's approval, and "he got, by contrivance, Mr Mackay of Achmunie (a gentleman of that country), whom Mr Grant was informed was a chief instrument in endeavouring to debauch his people, to Castle

1 See Lovat correspondence in Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness, XIV.

Grant, and there prevailed with him, by a solemn writ under Mackay's own hand, and by oaths, to renounce all these bad measures, and to promise that he should never attempt the like for the future, but should, with all his influence, be at Mr Grant's call whenever he pleased." So said Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, who was employed after Culloden to write a vindication of Ludovick's conduct; but, as a matter of fact, the writ, which is preserved at Castle Grant, makes no allusion to the insurrection, or to Achmonie's part in it, and it was left to the fortunes of war to decide whether it was to be interpreted as an obligation to support King George, or as one to fight for Prince Charles:—"I, Alexr. M'Cay *alias* M'Gilies,[1] of Achmunie, do hereby promise and declare that I will be constantly affectionate and faithful to the Laird of Grant, my superior, and will further and serve his interest to the utmost of my power, and will use all the moyan [influence] and interest I can have with others so to do, particularly with the other feuars and tenants of the Estate of Urquhart, and will be assistant to his bailies and chamberlains in these matters whenever the said Laird's orders and directions are made known to me; that I will answer his call, and attend him to receive his directions, as oft as I shall be required so to do; and will advise and induce, not only my own tenants, but all the other feuars and tenants of the Barony of Urquhart, to do the like as oft as they shall be required; and that I will never, directly or indirectly, act in the contrary. In

[1] MacGillies was the patronymic of the family of Achmonie.

witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents at Castle Grant, this 6th day of December, 1745 years.—ALEXR. M'CAY."

In Achmonie's view this obligation, wrested from him by the masterful Ludovick, who had got him into his power "by contrivance," was only to be respected so long as he was within the reach of his strong arm; and on his return to Urquhart he set it at nought, and, in conjunction with Shewglie and Corrimony, continued to work for the Prince. Their efforts were not without success. "I rune you this express," wrote the now threatened and almost despairing factor to Ludovick on 20th December—the day on which Charles and his army crossed the Border on their retreat from England—"to acquaint you that the people of this country has past my power to keep them any longer from joyning the Highland armie. Ther's fifty or sixty of them to goe for Perth the begining of next week. There goeing is all oweing to Angus Grant, who goes alongs with your tenants. Corimonie and Achmony sends a part of there tenants, which I belive in justice ought to bring them in equaly guilty as they went themselves. Am told Achmony's brother[1] goes. The country people here and I do not agree one minute, as am againest there goeing to Perth. Corimonie and I quarald last Friday, and upon the Saturday he sent for severalls of the men of his faimly, who came in full arms with him in order to atact me, and after they came to

1 Donald Mackay, the Author's great-grandfather.

Millntown, where I was then, they thought proper to lett me alon. This is the situation am in for some tyme past—am not only threatned by the Highlanders for disuading your tenants from joyning, but are threatned by the country people here. Within thir [these] few days my house and corns were threatned to be burnt, and I don't know how soon this may hapen if am not suported by you. Am always ready to riske my life in your service. I hope if any of the small effects I have are destroyed, that you'll see me redress'd, as you know that my little moveabls are the greatest subject I have to depend upon for the support of my faimly.

"If you'll be so good as to give me a posscession elsewhere, to accomodate my wife and faimly and cattle for some little tyme till the present troubls in the nation are quell'd, I'le always stay here while you'r pleas'd to imploy me, and obey your orders as farr as lays in my power. If this you'll be so good to agree too, it will be very oblidging, and if you should not, I'le allways submitt myself to your pleasure, and not put any little fonds I have in ballance with serveing my chief."

And after giving this touching expression to his anxiety for the safety of his wife and children, and his devotion to his master, he adds this interesting information:—"Ther's eight companys of the Frasers at Perth. The Master of Lovet has not gone as yet. The most part of the Camrons are come home; ther's not three hundred of them with there chief. All the McDonalds of Brea-Lochaber

are come home too, thirty or forty; and ther's not forty of the Glenmoristone men from home. The Glengerry McDonalds stood it out best; ther's few of them came home, accept those that returned to Perth."

Before the end of the month, the Master of Lovat, with a further detachment of Frasers, and the Chisholms of Strathglass and Buntait, under The Chisholm's youngest son, Roderick, marched southward through our Parish, and joined the Prince's army at Stirling early in January. With a few exceptions, however, the Laird of Grant's tenants still held back, wavering between their allegiance to Ludovick and their loyalty to Charles. But when the Prince arrived in Inverness, on 18th February, and the Urquhart men who had been in his army returned for a brief season to their homes, and told of their wonderful experiences in England, of the brilliant brush with the enemy at Clifton, in the honours of which they shared, and of the glorious victory at Falkirk—glorious in their eyes, notwithstanding the loss on the field of their brave young leader, Robert Grant, son of Shewglie, and the accidental death after the battle of their colonel, Angus of Glengarry[1]—it was impossible for the factor to restrain them any longer; and the Three Alexanders brought about sixty of them to the Prince, in addition to those who had already

1 Angus was married to a daughter of Robertson of Struan. Their young daughter, named Angus or Angusia, after him, became the second wife of Alexander Mackay of Achmonie.

served him.[1] Placed under the banner of Barisdale, who had succeeded Angus Macdonell in the command of the Glengarry regiment, they took part in the pursuit of Lord Loudon and the Lord President in Ross and Sutherland. They returned to fight, and many of them to die, on the Moor of Culloden.

1 Memorial at Castle Grant.

CHAPTER XV

1746

The Battle of Falkirk.—The Duke of Cumberland in Scotland.—Prince Charles at Inverness.—Cumberland crosses the Spey.—The Men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston summoned to join the Prince.—Culloden.—Incidents of the Battle and Flight.—Alexander Grant's Exploits.—Heroic Wives.—Ludovick Grant and his Eight Hundred in Urquhart.—Rebel-Hunting.—Protections promised, and the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston Surrender.—Fears and Forebodings.—Treachery.—Despair and Maledictions.—Ludovick's Intercession and its Result.—Shewglie and his Son and the Minister in Tilbury Fort.—Shewglie's Death.—Release of his Son and the Minister.—Banishment to Barbados.—The Fate of the Exiles.—Notices of some who Returned.—Donald Mackay.—William Grant.—Donald Macmillan.—Alexander Grant.—Donald Grant.—Alexander Ferguson.—Donald Ferguson.

The defeat of the Hanoverians at Falkirk caused great consternation in London. Dissatisfied with General Hawley, the Government offered the chief command to William, Duke of Cumberland, the King's son—a young man of twenty-five, who had already had considerable experience as a soldier, and had acquired some knowledge of the Highlanders' mode of warfare at Fontenoy, where they fought under him. The Duke promptly accepted, and with ten thousand men set out from Edinburgh on 30th January, 1746, to measure

swords with Prince Charles, who crossed the Forth on 1st February, and, taking the Highland Road by Drumuachdar, arrived in Inverness on the 18th. Lord Loudon and his Whig Highlanders abandoned the town on his approach, and, crossing Kessock Ferry, made their way into Ross-shire. Fort George, as the Castle of Inverness was then called, made some show of resistance, but, after a two days' siege, its commander—Major George Grant of the Black Watch, Ludovick Grant's uncle—surrendered to the Prince's Highlanders, by whom the Castle was immediately destroyed. Some of the Grants who formed part of the garrison joined the army of the Prince.

While Charles lay at Inverness—whence he sent out detachments to take Fort-Augustus and Fort-William, and other companies into Ross, Sutherland, and Atholl—the Duke slowly made his way northward along the eastern seaboard. At Aberdeen he remained for weeks, punishing Jacobites, and waiting for reinforcements and the spring. On 8th April he began his march to Inverness, and crossed the Spey on the 12th. Tidings of his approach reached Charles on the 14th, and messengers were immediately despatched to call back his Highlanders, who had for a time returned to their homes. Among these were the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The summons reached the Glenmoriston men too late for the coming conflict; but eighty men of Urquhart,[1] accompanied by

[1] Documents at Castle Grant.

Shewglie and his sons Patrick and Alexander, and by Corrimony and Achmonie, and the latter's young brother, Donald Mackay, set out on the 15th, and arrived at the Prince's camp at Culloden that evening. They found the army preparing to march to Nairn, with the object of surprising the Duke before daybreak. Tired though they were after their day's journey, they readily joined in the adventure—all but Shewglie, who, on account of his great age, returned to Inverness. The Highlanders started as soon as daylight had disappeared; but the way was rough, the night was darkness itself, a fierce north-east wind, laden with blinding sleet, blew in their teeth, and their progress was so slow that the dawn of a new day was upon them ere they reached Kilravock, some three miles from where the Duke lay. The Prince's bold plan had miscarried, and, notwithstanding his eagerness to press forward, Lord George Murray ordered a retreat—the best order, probably, that could in the circumstances have been given.

After this trying and fruitless march, the Highlanders, footsore and famished, found themselves once more on the bleak moor of Culloden. Many of them—among whom were the Urquhart men, who had marched thirty or forty miles without rest or food—stretched their weary limbs on the wet heath, and were soon asleep. Others who were not so fatigued, but whose only food for the last twenty-four hours had been a morsel of coarse bread doled out the previous day, wandered to Inverness and

the neighbouring farm-houses in search of something to eat. Before the sleepers awoke and the wanderers returned, Cumberland's host of ten thousand men, fresh from the rest and festivities which had marked the previous day as his birthday, appeared in the east, marching with steady tread upon the Highland camp. It was in vain that the Prince's officers urged him not to risk all on a field which was but too well adapted for the movements of the English horse and artillery, and pointed to the hills on the other side of the river Nairn as ground on which the enemy would be at a disadvantage, and his Highlanders could effectively bring their peculiar mode of warfare into play. Determined that Cumberland should not pass on to Inverness, and blindly confident in the prowess of his mountaineers, he insisted on giving battle where he stood. A desperate attempt was therefore made to get his followers together. Those whom the call reached responded with alacrity, and when the hour of battle arrived Charles was at the head of five thousand men—hungry and fatigued, it is true, but full of ardour and devotion, and eager, in their own words, to "give Cumberland another Fontenoy" —an allusion to the Duke's recent defeat by the French. About one o'clock the Highlanders began the fray by firing their miserable cannon. The English artillery answered with deadly effect. For half-an-hour the firing continued, and ghastly lanes appeared in the ranks of the Highlanders. Then they were allowed to charge in their own old style.

Pulling their bonnets down over their foreheads with a fierceness that Lowland spectators beheld with dismay, they rushed forward and flung themselves with indescribable fury on the bayonet-shielded front line of the enemy—the Macdonalds, however, standing sullenly inactive, because they had been deprived of their customary place of honour in the right wing. The line fell back before the shock, but there was another and another behind, and as the Highlanders bounded forward they were met with a terrific fire which almost annihilated them. The survivors turned and fled, and the cause of the Stewarts was lost for ever.

The Prince, forced off the field by his attendants, escaped in the direction of Strathnairn and Strath-errick. The greater portion of his army crossed the Nairn, and found refuge in the mountains. The remainder, including the Frasers, Chisholms, and the men of Urquhart, fled towards Inverness, pursued by the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse, slaughtering as they went—among the slain which lined the road being many of the townspeople who had come out to see the battle.

Of the Urquhart men thirty fell on the field or in the flight.[1] A few of the incidents of the day still related in Glen-Urquhart may be recorded. James Grant, that cousin whom Shewglie sent to Charles with his message of welcome, and who had followed the Prince into England, made his way,

1 Memorial at Castle Grant.

terribly wounded, to his aunt's house at Cradlehall, where he died in a few hours. His dust lies in the Cradlehall garden. His brother, Alexander, notwithstanding a wound in the head, made good use in the flight of that skill which had already won for him the name of The Swordsman. He saved Somerled Dubh Macdonald by severing a trooper's arm which was raised to strike him. Wishing to avoid the streets of Inverness, he and his companions passed by the town, and forded the Ness above the Islands. William Macmillan, from the Braes, was being hard pressed in mid-stream by a trooper, when Grant stole behind, and with a stroke of his sword brought horse and rider into the water. His next stroke cleft the Englishman's head in twain. At the same place a trooper shot Donald Macmillan from Shewglie in the thigh, and was himself shot dead by a Lochaberman, who, mounting his horse, and placing Macmillan before him, galloped off to Glen-Urquhart, carrying with him the first tidings of the disaster. Donald Fraser, Drumbuie, saved himself by slaying a horseman who pressed hard on him in the flight.[1] Corrimony, suffering from two severe wounds, was carried off the field by John Garbh Cameron, Carnoch. James Breac Chisholm, Upper Balmacaan, lay wounded on the field for two days, and witnessed the savage butchery of the Highlanders after the battle. His own life was saved by an

[1] Fraser related this incident to the late John Mackenzie, Achintemarag, who communicated it and other Culloden traditions to the Author.

English officer, who was moved to pity by his sufferings. Among those who joined the Prince on the 15th were Alexander Macfie, tenant of Kerrowgair (now Drumbuie), and his brother Ewen. Next morning their young wives started for the camp with food for them. As they passed through Inverness the distant roll of artillery told but too plainly that the expected conflict had already begun. In the hope of being able in some way to succour their husbands they still hastened on. At Inshes they met the Highlanders in full flight, and witnessed their slaughter by the troopers. One of the latter, probably in wanton jest, pointed his carbine at Alexander's wife, who, believing that her hour had come, closed her eyes in prayer. The soldier, however, did not fire, and the two women, forgetting their own safety in their concern for their husbands, pushed on to the scene of the battle. There they found Ewen Macfie among the slain. Alexander had escaped, and returned in safety to his home. At Caiplich he and his companions met the men of Glenmoriston, who were on their way to Culloden, and who at once returned to their own Glen.[1]

Cruel though the disasters of Culloden were, greater trials awaited the inhabitants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. "It is the living parting," says the Gaelic proverb, "that makes the sore wound." The people of our Parish were made to feel

[1] Tradition communicated to the Author's father by the latter's grandmother, Mary, daughter of Alexander Macfie and his heroic wife.

the bitter truth of the saying. Ludovick Grant went to Aberdeen about the beginning of March to pay his respects to Cumberland, who, after a few days, ordered him to return to Strathspey, and to meet him again at Speymouth with six hundred men. Ludovick returned to his own country, but failed to meet the Duke, his excuse being that the Grants refused to leave their homes while the Jacobites were near. The events of Culloden changed all. No longer deeming it necessary to act on the advice of Alasdair Mor Og—"Let those fight who have nothing to lose"—the young chief leapt with amazing agility off the fence on which he had so long sat, and in less than two days had eight hundred men at the service of Duke William.[1] Employed in rebel-hunting, he captured Lord Balmerino and other Jacobites in Strathdearn, and, in obedience to the Duke's commands, destroyed the ploughs and implements of the people of that district.[2] Immediately after the battle John Grant, factor of Urquhart, waited upon Cumberland at Inverness, and was ordered to bring in the Urquhart men who were loyal and disposed to follow Ludovick as their chief.[3] None came in, and before the end of April Ludovick and his eight hundred marched into the Parish.

1 Letter, Sir Archibald Grant to Sir James Grant, dated Inverness, 8th May, 1746. The documents referred to in this chapter are at Castle Grant, except where otherwise indicated. Some of them are printed in "The Chiefs of Grant."

2 Ibid.

3 Letter, Earl of Findlater to Ludovick Grant, dated Inverness, 19th April, 1746.

"I shall conclude my letter," wrote Ludovick to the factor at an early stage of the troubles, "with desiring you make my compliments to the gentlemen of Urquhart, and let them know that I desire you and them to spirite up the tennents and inhabitants of Urquhart to remain peaceable at home, and to assure them of all encouragement from me, nay, of favours, if they are obedient; whereas, be they who they will that will act otherways than I desire, they may expect the treatment that they will justly merite from me." The gentlemen and tenants and inhabitants of Urquhart did otherwise than as he desired, and he now came to fulfil his promise. With a vigour and devotion which contrast strangely with his inactivity before Culloden, he scoured the country from Tullich to Temple—the Dan and Beersheba of Urquhart—for the men who had been "out" and were now fugitives in the woods and among the mountains. Corrimony found safe shelter within the cave of Morall, where the remains of the timber of his rough bed were seen by persons who still live; but Ludovick carried away his own and his tenants' cattle.[1] Achmonie was equally safe in

[1] The following document is preserved at Castle Grant:—"Whereas Ludovic Grant of Grant had seized upon the lands of Corrymonie in Urquhart cattle belonging to tenants of mine, and the said Grant hath, upon the representations of me, Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm, younger, delivered back 17 cows, small and great, seven piece of horse, eleven sheep, and nineteen goats, belonging to those tenants, I oblige myself that these persons, so far as I know, have been in no ways concerned in the Rebellion, and that the said cattle shall be forth-serving to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's orders whenever called upon: In witness whereof, I have subscribed these presents at Balmacaan this 30th day of April, 1746 years.—ALEXR. CHISHOLM."

the crevice in Achmonie Craig, which still bears his name.[1] Patrick Grant, Shewglie's son, found refuge in the woods of Lochletter: his brother Alexander never returned from Culloden, and years afterwards appeared in India as an officer under Clive. James Breac Chisholm was among the rocks of Craigmonie, where his food was brought to him by a faithful dog. The retreats of the fugitives were known to many of the people, but nothing would make them give information, and, although Ludovick continued the search for several days, his only captives were John Bain (John the Fair), Donald Bain, and Alexander Bain, all of Corrimony—"honest men," all of them, certified the Reverend John Grant, minister of the Parish, who did what he could to screen the fugitives, and kept their little money for them.[2] The captives and the cattle were sent under escort to Cumberland; but they were a poor result of the Expedition of the Eight Hundred, and Ludovick strongly urged the people to get their fugitive friends to surrender and cast themselves on the Royal clemency. He sent a similar advice to the men of Glenmoriston. His counsel was unfortunately accepted. On the 4th of May sixty-eight Glenmoriston men appeared at Balmacaan, and surrendered themselves and their arms. Their example was followed by sixteen of the men of Urquhart.[3] Ludovick was satisfied, and next

1 Uamh Fhir Achamhonaidh—Achmonie's Cave.

2 Letter, Ludovick Grant to the Duke of Newcastle.—Chiefs of Grant, ii., 267.

3 See Appendix H for lists of those who surrendered, and of the arms given up by them.

day he proceeded to Inverness with them, and with the minister, old Shewglie and his son James, and Donald Mackay, Achmonie's brother, and delivered them all into the hands of Duke William.

The surrender was not made without doubts and forebodings. James Breac Chisholm was on his way to Balmacaan to give himself up, when the idea of treachery forced itself so strongly upon his mind that he returned to his retreat in the Bed of the King's Daughter in Craigmonie. Glenmoriston and Corrimony both started to meet Ludovick, but took warning and turned back. John Macmillan, Borlum, kept to the woods on the advice of his wife, who quoted the proverb, "'S fhearr sith fo phreas na sith fo ghlais"—"better peace in a bush than peace in fetters." Ewen Macdonald left his home at Livisie with the other Glenmoriston men, followed by his wife, who implored him to return. Her tears had no effect, until, as the party was about to cross the Urquhart march beyond Achnaconeran, she threw the child which she carried at her breast in the heather, and bidding her husband take it or let it die, sped back as if her senses had forsaken her. Ewen had but one choice; and he raised the child and returned with it to his house, where he remained. When Shewglie got into his saddle to accompany Ludovick to Inverness, his mare turned three times *tuaitheal*—that is, against the sun. His old hen-wife, Stianach Bhuidh nan Cearc—Yellow Stianach of the Hens—marked the evil omen, and entreated him not to go. He went, and never returned. On his advice, however, The

Swordsman returned home until it was seen how it fared with those who did not equal him in guiltiness against the Guelphs, and he was spared. The women, who formed the bulk of the great crowd which gathered at Balmacaan to witness the departure of the surrendered, filled the air with cries of grief, and one old female stepped forward and addressed the doomed men in words of prophecy—

"Urchadainn Mo Chrostain,
Cha bu rosadach thu riamh gus an diugh—
An taobh ris am beil sibh cuir bhur sail,
Gu brath cha chuir sibh clar na h-aoduinn!"[1]

The manner in which the surrender was brought about has been recorded by Ludovick. "Mr Grant," he says, referring to himself, "in prosecution of his own letters and manifestos during the time of the Rebellion, and in prosecution of His Royal Highness' orders, firmly determined to bring in as many of the rebels in Urquhart and Glenmoriston as he could, to be used as His Royal Highness should judge fit. Accordingly, his men catched some and sent them prisoners immediately on his going to Urquhart, and for several days hunted the others in that wild mountainous country; but on their keeping out of his way he thought fit to declare and publish that he could grant them no sort of terms, but that if they did not quickly come in and deliver up themselves and their arms, he would never desist from ferreting them out, and

[1] O Urquhart of St Drostan, never wert thou unhappy until to-day—to the place to which you [the surrendered] now turn your heels you will not turn your faces till the Day of Doom!

that although the estate was his own he would burn the houses and leave it as a forest rather than that it should be inhabited by rebels; but that, by submitting, they would have the best chance (as many of them pretended to have been forced) of saving their houses and effects, and their wives and children, and that even some of themselves might have a chance for mercy on consideration of their different cases, but that he could not pretend to foretell what their fate might be; and he both sent messengers and wrote an ostensible letter to a peaceable honest man, one Grant of Duldreggan, much to the same purpose—which letter, as he hears, is in the hands of Sir Everard Faulkner [the Duke's secretary]. The event was that besides the above mentioned sixteen Urquhart men, Duldreggan brought him sixty-eight Glenmoriston people, and that Mr Grant caused acquaint His Royal Highness that these persons, in consequence of the above hunting and threats, had surrendered to him without the promise of any terms, and that His Royal Highness might dispose of them as he should think fit."[1]

There is reason to believe that, in his eagerness to show results to Cumberland, Ludovick held out greater hopes to the unfortunate people than he here admits. "The fact is," he states in the same paper, "that none of the Urquhart people did surrender, save only sixteen, when he was threatening murder

[1] Draft (at Castle Grant) of Memorial by Ludovick to Government in answer to Petitions by the Shewglies and the Rev. John Grant.

and burning, after having hunted and chased them for several days.'' The threat of murder—murder of the innocent people who had not left their homes and could be got at—was one which the fugitives were not likely to take seriously; their turf houses and little effects did not weigh much against their lives and liberty; their secret haunts were not known to Ludovick and his Strathspeymen; and, having eluded their pursuers for several days, it is difficult to believe that they left their fastnesses without an assurance of safety. The tradition is that they were promised '' protections ''—letters from the authorities securing them against further molestation—and the breach of the promise gave rise to a saying which was at one time common in the Parish as indicative of treachery and danger—'' Cho sabhailt ri *protection!*''—'' As safe as a protection !'' The tradition is fully corroborated by writings of the period. The two Shewglies and the parish minister state in a petition which they sent from their English prison to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, that the men surrendered on Ludovick's '' assurance that he would intercede with His Royal Highness on their behalf, and that after such surrender they should be permitted to return to their respective places of abode :''[1] the Reverend James Hay of Inverness, writing in 1749, asserts that '' the men of Glenmoriston and Urquhart were advised to go to Inverness, and deliver up their arms, upon solemn promises that

[1] Copy petition at Castle Grant.

they should return safe, with protections; which encouraged also those who were not engaged, to go:"[1] Andrew Henderson, a Whig "Impartial Hand," who accompanied Cumberland's army, and afterwards wrote a "History of the Rebellion," records that "the people in the Rebellion, on submitting to mercy, were dismissed to their own habitations; only the Grants of Glenmoriston were led into a snare through a mistake of their chieftain, who assured them of pardon if they would but come in:"[2] and the author of an old MS. history of the Grants states that the fugitives were "prevailed upon to come and surrender themselves in expectation that they would have got protections, and been allowed to return to their country."

The unfortunate men were doomed to cruel disappointment. Ludovick, as he himself has recorded, delivered them up to Cumberland, "that His Royal Highness might dispose of them as he should think fit." Not one word did he utter by way of intercession. On the contrary, he effectually destroyed whatever feeling of mercy lurked in the Duke's breast by delivering to him the letter addressed by Prince Charles to the gentlemen of Urquhart, and which had found its way into the hands of the factor. The result was that all who had surrendered, including the aged Shewglie and his son, and the minister and Donald Mackay, were confined in one of the churches of Inverness[3] for some days, and then

1 Chambers' Jacobite Memoirs, 256.
2 "Impartial Hand's" History of the Rebellion, 337.
3 The Gaelic Church, according to tradition.

transferred to Government ships which sailed with them on the 22nd for the Thames.[1]

The news of their betrayal struck terror into the hearts of their relations and friends in Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Men and women gave way to grief and despair, and cursed Ludovick in language which can hardly be uttered.[2] For a time he and his friends failed to realise the enormity of the offence which had been committed against honour and humanity. Writing from Inverness on 8th May to the old Laird of Grant, who was in London, ignorant of the deeds which were done in his name, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, after giving an account of the surrender, excuses Ludovick for not having "catched many more;" and two days later the young Laird himself writes his father with evident satisfaction :— "I had the honour yesterday of having His Royal Highness' approbation of the part I have acted since I came here. I intended to have set out for London this day, but as the Major's trial comes on to-morrow I must wait it.[3] I shall, when we meet, satisfy you, I hope, and all the world, with my conduct since the beginning of this villanous rebellion. . . . I think old Shewglie is now in a way of repenting all

1 Jacobite Memoirs, 256; "Impartial Hand's" History of the Rebellion, 338.

2 One example of the maledictions may be given :—

A Thighearn' og Ghrannda,
Gum a h-ard theid droch dhiol ort—
Gaoir na cloinne gun athair
Ga d' sgaradh o Flaitheanas Chriosda !

(O young Laird of Grant, great be thy evil reward—may the cry of the fatherless children drive thee from the Heaven of Christ !)

3 Major Grant, Ludovick's uncle, who was tried for surrendering Inverness Castle.

his villanous rebellious schemes, since he was a man in the 1715 and ever since. His cunning will not save him. I have done all I could to get hold of Corrimonie and Achmonie, but have not yet succeeded." When he reached London he found that the "world," far from being satisfied, condemned the dishonourable capture with a unanimity that made him wince, and that called forth long vindications of his conduct from Monymusk, and Lachlan Grant, a devoted clansman who practised law in Edinburgh.[1] Shewglie and his son and the Reverend John Grant, from their cell in Tilbury Fort, laid their version of the sad tale before the Government in a petition to the Duke of Newcastle. A copy of the document was sent to Ludovick, and he was constrained to reply. He addressed a long letter to Newcastle, in which, after denying the accuracy of the statements made by the petitioners, and animadverting severely on their conduct, he made an appeal on behalf of their humbler associates. "I must beg leave," said he "to inform your Grace that there are 68 of the men of Glenmoriston, and 16 of the men of Urquhart sent here [*i.e.*, London] prisoners. These unhappy men surrendered themselves to me, May 4th, without any promise of pardon, but threw themselves upon His Majesty's mercy, and surrendered their arms, which were delivered to his Royal Highness' order. As none of these people were at the battle of Culloden"—a humane untruth which may be pardoned—"and were the first who surrendered, without attempting to make terms,

1 Both papers are at Castle Grant.

and, as since that time many of the rebels who have surrendered have been allowed to live in their own countries, I cannot help feeling some compassion for those who surrendered to me. I must therefore humbly beg they may be used no worse than others. I have information many of them deserted from the rebels, and returned home, and showed no inclination to continue in rebellion. And as I told their friends before they surrendered that they would find it would tend more for their own safety, and that of their wives and children, to follow that measure, which I was convinced would preserve their effects, whereas, if they continued in arms, I was certain their whole country would be turned into a forest, and their effects carried off, and they themselves in a short time could not miss to be apprehended, I know if they are not treated with the same mercy as others are, I must meet with reflection as being the person who advised their surrendering without waiting to see the fate of others."

Ludovick's tardy compassion and intercession were of no avail. Government responded to the petition of the Shewglies and the minister, of whom he wrote in terms of condemnation, by releasing them from prison and permitting them to live in London under the surveillance of an officer of the law. But old Shewglie's days were numbered, and he was in his grave before 29th July.[1] His son and the minister were in the end permitted to return to

[1] It appears from papers at Castle Grant that he died a natural death, but it was believed in Glen-Urquhart that he was burnt to death in a barrel of tar.

their homes. Ludovick's appeal on behalf of the remaining prisoners was disregarded, and, without trial or enquiry, they were shipped off to Barbados. Many of them succumbed to their evil treatment in the Thames and during the voyage. Of the rest only eighteen were alive in 1749;[1] and of these seven or eight only saw their own country again. Donald Mackay was but a short time in the island when he escaped as a stowaway to Jamaica, where, assuming the name of Macdonald, he adopted a planter's life. Many years afterwards he returned to Glen-Urquhart, became tacksman of Kerrowgair—now the farm of Drumbuie—and married Mary, daughter of Alexander Macfie, the old tenant, and of that devoted wife at whom the trooper pointed his carbine on the road to Culloden. His great-grandson is now writing these pages.[2] William Grant returned and became tenant of Breakry-riach; and his grandsons, the late John and Ewen Mackenzie of Achintemarag, furnished some of the incidents related in this chapter. Donald Macmillan also found his way home, and was well known in after life as the Grey Smith of Inchvalgar. Of the

1 Lyon in Mourning—MS. in Advocates' Library.

2 Donald's grandson (the late William Mackay, the Author's father, who in early life dropped the name Macdonald) visited, as late as 1886, the battlefield of Culloden, where Donald fought in 1746. Donald and his wife are buried in the old Achmonie burial-place at Kilmore. Their tombstone, which was erected in 1822, bears the following inscription:—"Here lie the Remains of Donald Mackay Macdonald, Esq., late Planter in Jamaica, and Representative of the ancient family of Achmonie, who died in August, 1791: also the Remains of his Spouse, Mary, who died January, 1822. This tribute of respect is erected to their memory by their son, John Mackay Macdonald, Esq."

Glenmoriston men, Alexander Grant returned in 1748, and Donald Grant in August, 1750. "Their wives and children were overjoyed by the unexpected sight of them."[1] Alexander and Donald Ferguson or Farquharson also came back, but the former, finding that his wife had been faithless during his absence, emigrated to America. Donald was more fortunate. Before starting on the ill-fated journey to Balmacaan, he divided a ring in two, and, giving one half of it to his betrothed, bade her keep it till they again met. The other half he retained. Returning after many years he crossed from Fort-Augustus to Innse-Mhor, near Aonach, where the woman resided. On approaching the house he learned that she had lost all hope of his return, and that the feast for her marriage with another man was being prepared. Giving expression to his feelings in rhyme,[2] he entered and asked her for a drink. Stranger though he apparently was, the occasion demanded that she should offer him a dram. Secretly dropping his half of the ring into the cup, he begged her to drink first. She did so, and to her astonishment and joy found the counterpart of the token which she had so long treasured. The man for whom the marriage feast was being prepared had to give way, and his place was taken by the long-lost Donald Ferguson.

1 Lyon in Mourning.

2 Tha smuid mhor dhe Tigh-na-h-Innse—
Thoir leam fhein gur smuid bainns' i.
Tha mo dhuil an Righ na Firinn
Gur h-ann domhs' tha brith na bainnse!

(Great is the smoke from the House of Innse—a wedding smoke it appears to me. My confidence is in the King of Truth that the marriage preparations are for me!).

CHAPTER XVI

1746—1747

The Government's Treatment of Ludovick Grant.—Glen-Urquhart harried by the English Cavalry.—The Blanket Raid.—Invermoriston House Burnt, and the Glenmoriston People Plundered.—Cumberland at Fort-Augustus.—Atrocities in Glenmoriston.—A Reign of Terror.—The Story of Roderick Mackenzie.—Cattle dealing between English Soldiers and Southern Drovers.—Gay Life in the English Camp.—Horse-Racing Extraordinary.—The Seven Men of Glenmoriston.—The Wanderings of Prince Charles.—The Prince in Glenmoriston.—His Three Week's Life with the Seven Men.—An Oath of Secrecy and Fidelity.—The Prince's Movements.—His Escape.—His Appearance and Habits.—Devotion of the Seven Men.—The English leave Fort-Augustus.—Famine and Pestilence in the Parish.—The Use of Arms and the Wearing of the Highland Dress Prohibited.—A Terrible Oath.—Results of Culloden.—Close of the Olden Times.

Ludovick Grant's zeal in connection with the bringing in of the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston did not secure him the consideration which he expected from the Government and military authorities. His uncle was tried by court-martial for surrendering Inverness Castle, and somewhat harshly dismissed from the army. Young Shewglie and the Reverend John Grant, whose punishment he had urged, were, as we have seen, released; while the men who were unfortunate enough to be the objects of his intercession were banished to Barbados without trial. His request to be refunded his outlays while rebel-hunting—

amounting to £494 8s—was treated with contempt. Early in July his estate of Urquhart was over-run by Kingston's Light Horse, who gave his tenants' houses to the flames,[1] and carried away their horses, cattle, and household effects.[2]

In October a levy of one hundred blankets was made out of Urquhart for the King's troops, and enforced by a company of soldiers; while a similar demand for one hundred and fifty blankets was in January following made on his people of Strathspey.[3] For these losses and exactions Ludovick and his tenants in vain sought redress.

1 The houses of Divach and Clunemore were burnt. An officer of the name of Ogilvie was sent to destroy Corrimony house, but he spared it on account of Corrimony's wife, Jane Ogilvie; and it still stands.

2 See Appendix I. for details of the spoil. Kingston's Horse, who were raised by the Duke of Kingston at the outbreak of the war, left Fort-Augustus on 27th July for their native Nottinghamshire, where they astonished the people of that county with their wonderful accounts of their prowess and exploits in the Highlands. According to one report of the time, "three butchers of Nottingham, who had been of Kingston's Horse, killed fourteen men each at the battle of Culloden"—(Scots Magazine, 1746). The regiment was disbanded in September, when their standards were placed in the town-hall of Nottingham, with an inscription in the following terms:—"These Military Standards, lately belonging to the Light Horse commanded by the Most Noble and Most Puissant Prince, Evelin, Duke of Kingston, raised among the first by the County of Nottingham out of Love to their Country and Loyalty to the Best of Kings, in the year 1745, are here dedicated to the perpetual Fame and immortal Memory of their invincible Bravery in the Skirmish of Clifton Moor, the Siege of the city of Carlisle, but especially at the memorable Battle fought at Culloden, in the Highlands of Scotland, on the 16th day of April, 1746, where, amongst others, they performed many and glorious Exploits in Routing and entirely Subduing the Perfidious Rebels, stirred up and supported by the French King, an implacable Enemy of the Protestant Religion and Publick Liberty. God save our ever August King! Long may the County of Nottingham Flourish!"

3 Memorial by Ludovick Grant to the Duke of Newcastle—copy at Castle Grant.

The district of Glenmoriston suffered even more than Urquhart. The Earl of Loudon, who had found shelter in Skye after his retreat from Inverness, returned as soon as tidings of Culloden reached him, accompanied by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, Macleod of Macleod, and the "militia of the Isle of Skye." In passing through Glenmoriston the Earl and his companions lodged for a night in Invermoriston House. Next day, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, Patrick Grant, tenant of Craskie, they "burnt it to the ground, destroying at the same time all the ploughs, harrows, and other such like utensils they could find." The Skyemen, continues Grant, "dividing themselves into three parties, went a-rummaging up and down the Glen, destroying all the ploughs, harrows, &c., pots, pans, and all household furniture, not excepting the stone querns, with which they [the people] grind their corn, breaking them to pieces; and driving along with them such cattle as (in their then hurry) they found in the Glen. Our country blame the Laird of Macleod more than any other for this piece of military execution, that Lord Loudon was against it, but that Macleod should have insisted upon it as a meritorious piece of service, fit to recommend them to the good graces of the Duke of Cumberland." [1] Loudon was a keen and consistent Whig who would not have been without excuse even had he been the instigator of these measures; but there can be no excuse for the two Island chiefs, who, if they did

1 Lyon in Mourning.

not "insist" on them, took part without compunction in carrying them into effect against a people whose only crime was the espousal of a cause which they themselves had at one time had serious thoughts of joining.

The Duke of Cumberland left Inverness on 23rd May, and arrived next day at Fort-Augustus, which he made his headquarters till his departure for England on 18th July. During his stay, and indeed until the last remnant of the English army left in August, the district of Glenmoriston, lying within a few miles of the Fort, suffered much. Officers and men forgot their humanity, and revelled in blood, plunder, lust, and brutal horse-play. The truth of the charges against them has been denied; but without relying on the tradition of the country, which tells in words of fire of the enormities of the time, many deeds of violence and shame are but too well authenticated in the pages of the Lyon in Mourning, a manuscript collection of letters, journals, and narratives made by Bishop Robert Forbes immediately after the close of the war.[1] The following examples may be given from that collection.

Colonel Cornwallis, marching through Glenmoriston with a body of soldiers, observed two men "leading" dung to their land, and shouted to them to come to him. Instead of obeying, the men, who,

[1] The Lyon in Mourning was preserved in the family of Stewart of Allanton, by whom it was given to the late Robert Chambers, who made it over to the Advocates' Library, where it now is. It has since the issue of the first edition of this work been published by the Scottish History Society.

knowing only Gaelic, probably did not understand his request, turned their faces away from him. They were instantly shot dead.

Major James Lockhart, of Cholmondeley's Regiment, an officer who was taken prisoner by the Highlanders at Falkirk, and bribed his guard to let him free, made discreditable use of the liberty which he had thus gained, and his name has come down to us as the most notorious of Cumberland's lieutenants.[1] Six or seven weeks after the battle of Culloden he was in command of a company in the Braes of Glenmoriston, when he saw two old men, Hugh Fraser and John Macdonald, and the former's son, James Fraser, harrowing in a field. He shot the three down without a word of warning. On the same day he ordered Grant of Duldreggan, a peaceable man who had taken no part in the insurrection, and on whose advice the Glenmoriston men surrendered to Ludovick Grant, to gather together the Duldreggan cattle while he and his men harried and burned another district. Finding on his return next day that the cattle had not all arrived from the remote glens, he stripped Grant naked, bound him hand and foot, and in that condition made him

1 Lockhart is referred to in the following lines by a woman whom he had robbed :—

Tha 'n crodh agam ann an Sasunn;
Cha d' fhag iad beathach agam air pairce;
Thug iad uam brigh mo thochradh—
'S e Maidsear Lockhart an t-aireach!

(All my cattle are in England; they have not left a beast with me on a field; they have deprived me of the substance of my dower—and Major Lockhart is the cow-keeper!)

witness the hanging by the feet of the bodies of the three men who had been murdered on the previous day. Grant's life was spared at the request of Captain Grant of Loudon's Regiment; but Lockhart carried away his cattle, set fire to his house, robbed his wife of her rings, and stripped her of her clothes. Of these scenes the aged Lady of Glenmoriston,[1] whose own house and effects were also given to the flames, and who was forcibly deprived of her "plaid and napkin," was an unwilling witness.

Another man of the name of Fraser was shot by Lockhart as he was wading a stream—notwithstanding that he held in his hand a "protection" from the Whig minister of Kilmorack.

But the most tragic event that happened in Glenmoriston was the death of Roderick Mackenzie. This young man was a native of Edinburgh, and probably a son of Colin Mackenzie, jeweller in that city, who interested himself in the cause of the Stewarts in The Fifteen. Roderick, who followed Colin's politics as well as his trade, joined Prince Charles, to whom he bore some personal resemblance, and became one of his body-guard. After Culloden, he wandered through the Highlands, and happened to be in our Parish when it became known that Charles had escaped from the Western Isles, and was lurking among the mountains of the mainland of Inverness-shire. Unfortunately, a party of the King's soldiers, who were eager to win the £30,000 placed on the Prince's head, came upon him in Glenmoriston, and,

[1] Daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and widow of Iain a' Chragain.

taking him for the royal fugitive, endeavoured to seize him. He made no attempt to undeceive them, but, drawing his sword, refused to be taken alive. They thereupon riddled him with bullets, and he expired with the words on his lips—"You have murdered your Prince."[1] The head of the hero was carried in triumph to Fort-Augustus, where Macdonald of Kingsburgh was questioned as to its identity.[2] His evidence was unsatisfactory, and when Cumberland left for England, he took the head with him to be submitted to other witnesses. Richard Morison, who had been the Prince's valet, and now lay under sentence of death at Carlisle, was summoned to London to identify the head; but he was delayed through illness, and before he arrived it was beyond recognition. The Government were, however, soon satisfied that Charles was still alive; but Mackenzie's self-sacrifice slackened for a time the exertions of the troops, and probably saved the Prince. It certainly saved his valet, who was granted a pardon and allowed to cross to France.[3]

1 These are the words given in the Lyon in Mourning. They are given somewhat differently by the Chevalier Johnstone and others.

2 Lyon in Mourning; Scots Magazine.

3 Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs. Mackenzie fell by the side of the public highway, opposite the lands of Ceanacroc. A cairn marks the spot. The grave in which the headless body was hastily buried lies on the opposite side of the road, and by the side of a small stream called, after Mackenzie, Caochan a' Cheannaich—the Merchant's Streamlet. Near it was recently found a sword, probably Mackenzie's. Without any good reason, doubt has been cast on the story by Mr Robert Chambers and Lord Mahon, neither of whom, probably, ever visited the scene of his death. The story is related

The soldiers roamed up and down Glenmoriston, shooting down men, burning homesteads to the ground, stripping women of their clothes, and driving to Fort-Augustus every four-footed animal they could find. Maids and matrons were seized and violated under circumstances of gross brutality.[1] The terror-stricken people fled to the mountains, where many of them succumbed to hunger and exposure.[2] Such of them as ventured to the Fort to beg for food were denied the crumbs that fell from the soldiers' table, and were sent away empty-

by Johnstone (Memoirs) and in the Lyon in Mourning by Macpherson of Cluny, and Mrs Cameron, wife of Dr Archibald Cameron—the last Jacobite executed. These all lived at the time of the event. Another contemporary, Dugald Graham, the rhyming historian of The Forty-Five, gives it in the following lines:—

"Rod'rick Mackenzie, a merchant-man,
At Ed'nburgh town had join'd the Clan,
Had in the expedition been,
And at this time durst not be seen.
Being skulking in Glen-Morriston,
Him the soldiers lighted on.
Near about the Prince's age and size,
Genteely drest, in no disguise,
In ev'ry feature, for's very face
Might well be taken in any case,
And lest he'd like a dog be hang'd,
He chose to die with sword in hand,
And round him like a madman struck,
Vowing alive he'd ne'er be took,
Deep wounds he got, and wounds he gave;
At last a shot he did receive,
And as he fell, them to convince,
Cry'd, *Ah! Alas! You've killed your Prince;*
Ye murderers and bloody crew,
You had no orders thus to do."

[1] See Appendix J.

[2] Lyon in Mourning; Scots Magazine, 1746; Glenaladale's Account of Prince Charles' Escape, in Lockhart Papers, II., 556.

handed by order of Duke William.[1] Even the dead were not allowed peaceful burial. "As the Glenmoriston people were forced to keep the hills," says Patrick Grant,[2] "so when any of them died, they would have been kept three or four days, because of the parties then scouring up and down the country, and when they could they would have carried the dead bodies privately, in the night-time, to the kirk-yards to bury them. Hereby the Glenmoriston people, having suffered much both by hunger and cold, so in the ensuing winter, 1746, a great mortality happened among them."

While the wretched people thus suffered and died, their oppressors fared sumptuously, and ate, drank, and were merry. The large sum of £4000—equal in value to three or four times that amount in the present day—was sent to Fort-Augustus by the city of London for division among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers.[3] The horses, cattle, sheep, and goats which were brought in thousands into the camp were sold to dealers from England and the south of Scotland, and the proceeds divided as prize-money. "Most of the soldiers," writes one who served with them as a volunteer,[4] "had horses,

1 The following order was issued by the Duke on 8th July:—"There is no meal to be sold to any persons but soldiers, there wives are not alow'd to buy it—if any soldier, soldier's wife, or any other persons belonging to the Army, is known to sell or give any meal to any Highlander, or any person of the country, they shall be first whipd severely for disobeying this order, and then put upon meal and water in the Provost for a fourthnight." (Maclachlan's Life of Cumberland, 324).

2 Narrative, in Lyon in Mourning.

3 Maclachlan's Life of Cumberland, 325.

4 Ray's History of Rebellion, 372.

which they bought and sold with one another at a low price, and on which they rode about, neglecting their duty; which made it necessary to publish an order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. I saw a soldier riding one of these horses, when, being met by a comrade, he asked him, 'Tom, what hast thou given for the galloway?' Tom answered, 'Half-a-crown.' To which the other replied, with an oath, 'He is too dear; I saw a better bought for eighteenpence.' Notwithstanding the low price, the vast quantities of cattle, such as oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, taken from the rebels and bought up by the lump by the jockeys and farmers from Yorkshire and the south of Scotland, came to a great deal of money; all which was divided amongst the men that brought them in, who were sent out in parties in search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to rebels' houses that had left them and would not be reduced to obedience. These sort our soldiers commonly plundered and burnt, so that many of them grew rich by their share of spoil."[1]

One would have thought that, in such circumstances, and placed as they were in summer in the midst of magnificent scenery, the English soldiers would have greatly enjoyed their life in the Highlands. But the Southrons had not yet learned to appreciate the beauties of Highland scenery, and

[1] There were 8000 cattle at Fort-Augustus on 26th July—all taken from the "rebels" (Scots Magazine, August, 1746). "If some of your Northumberland graziers were here," writes an officer from the Fort on that date, "they might make their fortunes."

the unwonted landscape had a depressing effect upon their souls. The sight "of the black barren mountains, covered with snow and streams of water rolling down them," says Ray, the Volunteer, "was sufficient to give a well-bred dog the vapours, and occasioned numbers to fall sick daily as well in their minds as in their bodies." With the desire of mending their minds if not their morals, the Duke initiated sports of a most diverting character. "Last Wednesday," writes a gentleman on 17th June,[1] "the Duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run heats for, on bare backed galloways taken from the rebels, when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize. These galloways are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent sport. Yesterday His Royal Highness gave a fine holland smock to the soldiers' wives, to be run for on these galloways, also bare-backed, and riding with their limbs on each side the horse, like men. Eight started, and there were three of the finest heats ever seen. The prize was won with great difficulty by one of the Old Buffs ladies. In the evening General Hawley"—the gallant commander who made such a rapid flight from Falkirk—"and Colonel Howard ran a match for twenty guineas on two of the above shalties; which General Hawley won by about four inches." "There were also," says Ray, "many foot races performed by both sexes, which afforded many droll scenes. It was necessary to entertain life in this manner, otherwise

1 Scots Magazine, June, 1746.

the people were in danger of being affected with hypochondriacal melancholy." These races were said to have been attended with circumstances of even grosser indecency than is acknowledged by these Whig writers. According to the gossip of the time, the female camp-followers who took part in them were as destitute of raiment as was Godiva of Coventry during her famous ride. It is fair, however, to add that the Reverend James Hay of Inverness, to whom Bishop Forbes addressed enquiries on the point, replied—"Though the running naked be commonly reported, I have not got an account of the certainty."[1]

Among those who sought refuge in the mountains were Patrick Grant, tenant of Craskie, to whose narrative reference has in this chapter been repeatedly made; Hugh, Alexander, and Donald Chisholm, sons of Paul Chisholm, tenant in Blairie; Alexander Macdonald in Aonach; John Macdonald, *alias* Campbell, in Craskie; and Grigor Macgregor. These Seven Men of Glenmoriston, having witnessed the betrayal and slaughter of their friends and relatives, the burning of their homes, and the loss of their property, bound themselves by a solemn

[1] The races—horse and foot—had the personal attention of the Duke. On 17th June the following appears in his General Order Book:—"H.R.H. gives six plates to be run for this afternoon at 5 o'clock by the sheltys belonging to the Army, viz., four the line, one to be run for by the Wimen, all to ride without sadles, Every Body has a Right to run, they are to be at H.R.H. Quarters at half an hour after four." On 23rd June the order appears:—"There is a plate of guinea value to be run for on foot by the wimen of the line his afternoon. N.B.—The Ladies are desired to be on the Course by five o'clock."

oath never to surrender themselves or their arms to the English, but to stand by each other to the last drop of their blood.[1] They were stalwart men who had been trained in the Highland Independent Companies. Macgregor had also been in Lord Loudon's Regiment, from which he deserted on the landing of the Prince; and they had all served with Charles.[2] They now made their home in Uamh Ruaraidh na Seilg—the Cave of Roderick the Hunter—in Corri-Sgrainge, one of the two small corries into which Corri-Dho branches out in its upper reaches; and from there they went forth in search of food and adventure. In a small way they waged war against the devastators of their country, making the Whig Highlanders who accompanied the English soldiers as Gaelic-speaking guides and informers the special objects of their animosity.

About the beginning of July the two Macdonalds and Alexander and Donald Chisholm observed a party of seven red-coats, under the guidance of Archibald Macpherson, a native of Skye, making their way from Fort-Augustus to Glenelg with two horses bearing wine, wheaten bread, and other provisions. They fired from behind some boulder-rocks, and two of the soldiers fell dead. The others, alarmed at the unexpected attack, fled towards Fort-Augustus, leaving their horses behind them. The Glenmoriston men buried the dead where they fell, took possession of the provisions, and drove the horses three miles further into the mountains, and

1 Lyon in Mourning. 2 Ibid.

there let them loose. "The wine," said Patrick Grant, who related the incident to Bishop Forbes in 1751, "being contained in square hampers of leather with padlocks, we fell to breaking up the hampers with stones, whereby (woe be to the stones!) we break some of the bottles; and when we got them opened we were very angry we found no money in the hampers." They, however, saved sufficient wine to enable them to live "like princes" for about five days.[1]

Some days after this incident, the Seven Men met Robert Grant, a native of Strathspey, at a place ever since called Feith Rob—Robert's Bog—and shot him through the heart. Cutting off his head, they fixed it high in a tree near the high road at Blairie, where the skull remained till far into the nineteenth century. Another native of the same Strath—An Spèach Ruadh, or the Red Strathspey-man—was cut down by them, and buried in the wilds.[2]

Three days after the death of Robert Grant, Patrick Grant and his companions received tidings to the effect that a party of soldiers had taken cattle belonging to Patrick Grant's uncle, and were driving them towards the West Coast, by General Wade's road through Glenmoriston. The Seven Men followed the soldiers, and overtook them near the Hill of Lundie, by Loch-Cluanie-side, and from some little distance called upon them to give up the

1 Lyon in Mourning.
2 Ibid., and tradition in Glenmoriston.

cattle. The officers in command placed their men in order for resistance, and sent Donald Fraser, a militiaman, to enquire what the Glenmoriston men wanted, and to invite them to surrender and take advantage of the royal clemency. Patrick replied that they were resolved to recover the cattle, and that rather than surrender they would fight to their last breath, indicating at the same time that companions were near who would help them in the struggle. The officers refused to give up the cattle, and ordered them to be driven off. "The Seven Men then made a lateral movement, and commenced a running fire, two by two, with some effect. Still the cattle and the soldiers moved on. The assailants then went forward to a narrow and dangerous pass, where, taking up a strong position, they gave their fire with such effect that the men, terrified at this unusual kind of warfare, fell into confusion, and many fled. The officers then sent a second message, but with the same result, and, strange to say, the affair ended by the men being allowed to carry off the cattle, together with a horse laden with provisions."[1]

The three Chisholms, who made themselves conspicuous in these adventures, occasionally visited their mother at Blairie. This became known at Fort-Augustus, and a small party of soldiers was sent out to capture them. The young men, how-

1 Patrick Grant's Narrative, corroborated by Donald Fraser, the militiaman. (Lyon in Mourning).

ever, stoutly resisted, and put the red-coats to flight.[1]

While the men of Glenmoriston were thus leading the lives of outlaws, the Prince, for whose sake they suffered, was himself hunted from island to island, and from glen to glen, by the soldiers of King George. After Culloden, he proceeded by Strathnairn, Strath-errick, Fort-Augustus, and Glengarry to Arisaig, and thence crossed the Minch to Benbecula. For two months he eluded his pursuers in the Outer Hebrides, and at last escaped from their grasp through the heroic devotion of Flora Macdonald, under whose guidance he crossed to Skye in female attire. On 5th July he landed in Morar. His presence there became known to the warships which scoured the Western Sea, and to the troops at Fort-William and Fort-Augustus. The ships closed in upon the coast, and a cordon of soldiers was drawn from Loch Shiel to the head of Loch Hourn, the men being placed within sight of each other, with fires burning at night, between which they passed and repassed continually. Charles was now completely surrounded, and escape appeared almost impossible. He, however, resolved to make an attempt, and placed himself unreservedly in the hands of three gentlemen who had served in his army—Major Macdonald of Glenaladale, Lieutenant John Macdonald, Glen-

[1] Tradition communicated to the Author by the late Duncan Macdonell, Torgoil Inn, who saw and remembered Hugh Chisholm, one of the Seven Men—the same Hugh whom Sir Walter Scott, when a young man, knew in Edinburgh (Tales of a Grandfather).

aladale's brother, and Lieutenant John Macdonald, son of Angus Macdonald of Borodale. With these as his guides, and travelling only by night, he gradually made his way northward—passing more than once so near to the soldiers that the sound of their voices reached his ears. Early on the morning of the 27th the party arrived at Glenshiel, where they met a Glengarryman whom Glenaladale recognised as one who had served in the Highland army. Led by him they that night pushed forward to Strath-Cluanie, where they rested till the afternoon of the 28th, when, alarmed by the sound of firearms, they made for the high mountain range that looks down upon Glenmoriston's lands of Corri-Dho on the one side, and upon Glen-Affaric on the other. There they passed a most miserable night, "the only shelter His Royal Highness had being an open cave where he could neither lean nor sleep, being wet to the skin with the rain that had fallen all that day; and having no fuel to make a fire with, his only way to make himself warm being by smoking a pipe."[1]

Some time before, the Prince heard that French vessels had put in at Poolewe, and he was anxious to push northward in their direction. The Glengarry guide did not know the country beyond Strathglass, and he suggested that the Seven Men of Glenmoriston, whose cave was in the corrie which lay at their feet, should be asked to conduct the party towards Poolewe. His suggestion was agreed to, and about three

1 Glenaladale's Account, in Lockhart Papers, II., 556.

o'clock in the morning of the 29th, he and Glenaladale's brother went forth in search of the proposed guides. They soon found the two Macdonalds and Alexander Chisholm, who readily undertook to shelter Glenaladale and his companions, among whom, they were informed, was a young gentleman whose name was not mentioned, but whom they took to be young Clanranald; and it was arranged that the whole party should come to the cave, where food was to be prepared for them.

The two messengers having returned and reported the result of their search, Charles and his companions immediately set out for the cave. They were met on the way by the three men, who at once recognised the Prince, and welcomed him with the greatest enthusiasm. Leading him to the cave, they offered him such "cheer as the exigency of the time afforded."[1] They had no bread to give him, but of their mutton and butter and cheese and whisky he partook heartily, for he had not tasted food for forty-eight hours. His hunger being thus appeased, he lay down on a bed of heather, and "was soon lulled to sleep with the sweet murmurs of the gliding stream that ran through the grotto just by his bed side."[2]

When he awoke he expressed his desire not to increase the number of those to whom he entrusted himself, and proposed to the three men, through Glenaladale as interpreter, that they should remove to another place without waiting for their companions,

[1] Lyon in Mourning. [2] Glenaladale's Account.

who were absent on a foraging expedition. The men replied that they and their comrades were bound by a solemn oath to stand by each other, and that they must refuse to forsake them. Charles did not press his wish, but suggested that they should solemnly swear to fidelity and secrecy. This they at once agreed to do, and the following oath was administered to them by Glenaladale :—"That their backs should be to God and their faces to the Devil, and that all the curses the Scriptures did pronounce might come upon them and all their posterity if they did not stand firm by the Prince in the greatest dangers, and if they did discover to any person—man, woman, or child—that the Prince was in their keeping, till once his person should be out of danger."[1] This obligation they observed so carefully that for a year after Charles' escape to France it was not known that he had been among them.[2]

On their part Charles and Glenaladale proposed to swear—"That if danger should come upon them they should stand by one another to the last drop of their blood;" but the men would take no oath from the Prince and his friend. Charles remarked that they were the first Privy Council that had been sworn to him since the battle of Culloden, and he promised never to forget them or theirs if ever he should come to his own. One of them replied that a certain priest who "used to come among them in their own country frequently had told them that King Charles the Second, after his restoration, was not very mindful of his friends;" to which plain

1 Lyon in Mourning. 2 Ibid.

speaking the poor Prince answered that "he was very heartily sorry for that, and that he hoped he himself would not follow the same measures, and that they might depend upon his word as the word of a Prince."[1]

Next day the absent men returned with a live ox and a dead deer, and took the oath which their companions had already sworn. The ox was slaughtered in the Prince's presence; and, although there was no bread and but little salt, Charles enjoyed a better meal than he had done for weeks. One of the men afterwards ventured to Fort-Augustus and purchased bread for him, and for three days he rested in the cave, with the result that "he was so well refreshed that he thought himself able to encounter any hardships."[2]

Deeming it inexpedient to continue too long in one place, the party removed on 2nd August to Corri-Mheadhain, the second small corrie which branches off Corri-Dho, and there "took up their habitation in a grotto no less romantic than the former."[3] In this new retreat they remained for four days, at the end of which they received intelligence that Lieutenant Campbell, the Whig chamberlain of Kintail, was within four miles of them

1 Lyon in Mourning.

2 Glenaladale's Account. "Sometimes," says Lord Mahon (History of England), "they [the Seven Men] used singly and in various disguises to repair to the neighbouring Fort-Augustus, and obtain for Charles a newspaper or the current reports of the day. On one occasion they brought back to the Prince, with much exultation, the choicest dainty they had ever heard of—a pennyworth of gingerbread!"

3 Lyon in Mourning.

with a large spoil of cattle.[1] The Prince had no desire to make the chamberlain's acquaintance, and leaving Alexander Macdonald and Alexander Chisholm to watch his movements, he started on the 6th with the rest of his party, and, travelling by night, reached the heights of Strathglass early on the 7th. He was there overtaken by Macdonald and Chisholm, who expressed the opinion that Campbell was not likely to give trouble. Despatching two messengers in the direction of Poolewe for intelligence regarding the French ships, Charles remained for two days in an unoccupied shieling-hut, sleeping soundly at night on a bed of turf—"a long divot or fail"—laid on the earth wth the grass side uppermost. Early on the 9th he started again, and, having rested that night in another shieling, entered Glen-Cannich on the 10th, and remained concealed there till about two o'clock in the morning of the 11th, when he betook himself to the mountains lying on the north of the glen, to await the return of the messengers. These arrived on the 13th with the news that a French ship had indeed put in at Poolewe, but had again sailed after landing two gentlemen who were making their way to Lochiel's country in quest of the Prince. Anxious to meet these strangers, and

1 Campbell took Patrick Grant's cattle about 7th July (Lyon in Mourning). He is the person described in a song of the period as—

"An Caimbeulach Dubh a Cinn-taile,
Iar-ogh' 'mhortair, 's ogh' a' mheirlich;
'Am Braid-Albainn fhuair e arach—
Siol na ceilge, 's meirleach a' chruidh."

(The Black Campbell from Kintail, great-grandson of the murderer, and grandson of the thief. It was in Breadalbane that he was brought up—the seed of deceit, and the stealer of cattle).

receive any despatches which they might have for him, Charles at once retraced his steps. Passing by Comar, where the young Chisholm resided, he reached Fasnakyle at two o'clock next morning, and hid in the wood there till he should ascertain whether the soldiers were still in Glenmoriston and Glengarry. In three days his scouts reported that the way was clear.[1] Resuming his journey at

1 At Fasnakyle the party was joined by Hugh Macmillan, a Glenmoriston man, who had been in the Prince's army. "When at Fassanacoill, the farmer there, John Chissolm, used to furnish Patrick Grant and the other Provisors with Meat and Drink for themselves and their Company, John Chissolm in the meantime knowing nothing at all about the Prince. When the Prince heard that John Chissolm had furnished him with Provisions, he desired that John might be brought to him, and accordingly Patrick Grant and Hugh Macmillan were dispatched to John Chissolm with that Intent. They desired John to come along with them to see a Friend, whom he would like very well to see, without telling who the Friend was. John answered, 'I believe there is some Person of Consequence amongest you, and, as I have one Bottle of Wine (the Property of a Priest, with whom I am in very good Friendship), I will venture to take it along with me.' Patrick Grant sad, 'What, John! have you had a Bottle of Wine all this Time, and not given it to us before this Time?' Away they went to the Prince, whom John Chissolm knew at first sight, having been in his Army. Upon delivering the Bottle of Wine to the Prince, Patrick Grant desired the Favour of his Royal Highness to drink to him [Patrick Grant]; for (added he) 'I do not remember that your Royal Highness had drunken to me since you came among our Hands.' Accordingly the Prince put the Bottle of Wine to his Mouth, and drank a Health to Patrick Grant and all Friends. John Chissolm having received good payment for any Provisions he had furnished, and finding they had been purchased for the use of his Prince, immediately offered to return the whole Price, and pressed the Thing much; but the Prince would not hear of that at all, and ordered him to keep the Money. John Chissolm took the same Oath of Secrecy with that before mentioned as taken by the Glenmoriston Men who were so lucky that the Prince was in absolute Safety during the Time he was in their hands, and (under God) they would have provided for his Safety to this very Day, had he thought fit to have continued amongst them."—Patrick Grant's Narrative, in Lyon in Mourning.

six o'clock on the morning of the 17th, he passed into Glenmoriston, whence he sent one man to Glengarry, and two others to Lochaber to arrange a meeting between Cameron of Clunes and Glenaladale. The Glengarry messenger returned on the 19th with a favourable report, and Charles and his companions proceeded by Glen-Loyne, towards the West. Wading the River Garry in high flood, they made their way to Achnasoul, near the east end of Loch-Arkaig, where they were met on the 20th by the other two men, bearing a message from Clunes to the effect that he would meet Glenaladale next morning. Charles and his companions had no food that day till late in the evening, when they feasted royally on a hart which had fallen to the gun of Patrick Grant. They were also cheered by the arrival of the loyal Macdonald of Lochgarry. Next morning they were joined by Clunes, who conducted them to a wood at the foot of Loch-Arkaig, whence Charles was able to communicate with Lochiel. He was now in the midst of his Western friends, and the Glenmoriston men prepared to return to their own country. The Prince desired to make them a small gift of money in acknowledgment of their devotion and fidelity, and requested Patrick Grant to remain with him until he was placed in funds. In a few days Patrick rejoined his companions, the proud bearer—not of the £30,000 which he and they might have won by betraying the Prince—but of three guineas for himself and three for each of his companions.[1]

1 Glenaladale's Account; and Patrick Grant's Narrative.

For a month longer Charles wandered in the Western Highlands. He was finally taken on board by a French vessel, and safely conveyed to France.

PATRICK GRANT, ONE OF THE SEVEN MEN—FROM A MINIATURE IN GLENMORISTON'S POSSESSION

We learn something from the Lyon in Mourning of the Prince's appearance and manner of life during the three weeks which he passed with the men of Glenmoriston. The Reverend John Cameron of Fort-William, who saw him at Loch-Arkaig, records that "he was then bare-footed, had an old black kilt-coat on, a plaid, philibeg, and waistcoat, a dirty shirt, and a long red beard, a gun in his hand, a pistol and dirk by his side." This description is corroborated by Patrick Grant, who adds that the Prince possessed but four shirts, which it was not always convenient to get washed, and that the discomfort which he consequently experienced was

increased by his having to sleep in his clothes, and plaid, and wig, and bonnet. He required but little rest. He stepped nimbly over the moors by day, but in the dark floundered awkwardly into pits and bogs. His hopefulness and cheerfulness never forsook him. He used "to declare," says Patrick Grant, "that he had great confidence in the King of France as a true and fast friend, and that the King (his Father) and his own brother, Henry, would risk all to save him." He called the Seven Men his Privy Council, permitted them to address him by the name of Dugald MacCullony,[1] ate and drank with them as one of themselves, and forbade them to take off their bonnets in his presence. He was the cook of the party, and took pains to convey to his companions some little knowledge of his art.[2] He even spoke to them of his love affairs. "In Glen-Cannich, upon Lammas day," says Patrick Grant, "the Prince spoke much to the praise of one of the daughters of the King of France, and drank her health, and made all the company do so likewise. . . . The Prince told them that her hair was as black as a raven, that she was a mighty fine, agreeable lady, being sweet-natured and humble; that he could not fail to love her, as he was very sure she entertained a

1 MacCullony, more correctly Mac 'Ill Domhnaich—Son of the Servant of our Lord. The surname was at one time common in our Parish and Kiltarlity.

2 "The Prince had a good Appetite and we all sate in a Circle when eating and drinking, every one having his Morsel on his own knee, and the Prince would never allow us to keep off our Bonnets in his Company. The Prince used sometimes to roast his own Meat, and sometimes to give Directions about the homely Cookery, taking a Bit now and then from off the Speet while roasting."—(Patrick Grant, in Lyon in Mourning).

great regard for him, as did likewise the Dauphin, whom the Prince commended much." . . . "As that Lady is so good-natured, agreeable and humble," exclaimed John Macdonald, "would to God we had her here, for we would take the best care of her in our power, and, if possible, be kinder to her than to Your Royal Highness." "This," continues Patrick, "made them all laugh very heartily, and the Prince answered, 'God forbid, for were she here and seized, to ransom her person would make peace over all Europe upon any terms the Elector of Hanover would propose.'"

The fatigues which the Prince endured, and the coarse food on which he subsisted, made him a martyr to dysentery; but, says Grant, "he bore up under all his misfortunes with great resolution and cheerfulness, never murmuring or complaining of the hardness and severity of his condition." His religious duties were not neglected. "The Prince," continues the same devoted adherent, "upon rising in the morning, used to retire for sometime by himself to say his prayers. I believe he is a very good Christian, indeed. . . . The Prince discovered that we were much addicted to common swearing in our conversation; for which he caused Glenaladale reprove us in his name; and at last the Prince, by his repeated reproofs, prevailed on us so far that we gave that custom of swearing quite up."

Charles, indeed, was at this time—and before his temper was soured by cruel disappointments

and shattered hopes—a man of a most pleasant disposition. His kindly manner and gallant bearing inspired the men of Glenmoriston with feelings of unbounded affection towards him; and after grasping his hand in the last farewell, one of them at least never again gave his right hand to man or woman.[1]

The bulk of the English troops left Fort-Augustus on 12th July, and, a month later, Lord Loudon marched southward, leaving only a small garrison behind. Thereafter, with the exception of the blanket raid in October, the people of our Parish were left in peace. Grant of Glenmoriston and The Chisholm were excepted from the benefits of the Act of Indemnity; but, nevertheless, their lives and their lands were spared. Grant of Corrimony was also allowed to go unpunished. Mackay of Achmonie had the honour of being the only person in the Parish who found a place in a great list of "rebels" prepared by the officers of excise for the information of the Government;[2] but no evil consequences followed the prominence thus given to him. Cumberland and his lieutenants had done enough, and the Government was satisfied. The sufferings of the people were, however, not yet over. The little corn they had sown during the distractions

1 Hugh Chisholm, whom Sir Walter Scott knew in Edinburgh (Tales of a Grandfather). Hugh was remembered by Glenmoriston people, who told the Author how as children they used to tease him by endeavouring to seize his right hand. James Chisholm, in Balmacaan, also never gave his right hand to another after shaking hands with the Prince. (See Appendix K for further notices of the Seven Men of Glenmoriston).

2 List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion (Scottish History Society).

of the spring was left unprotected and unsecured, and winter found them without bread. Their cattle, too, had been seized and sold by the English soldiers. Famine and Pestilence strode side by side through the glens, and there fell before them more than fell at Culloden.[1] The men who survived were taken bound by a shameful oath to discontinue the use of arms and their ancient dress:—"I do swear as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, that I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and that I never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb: and if I do so may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property; may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations; may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred: may all this come across me if I break my oath."

And so ended the last of the many "troubles" in which the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston took part for their old Royal Line; and so also may be said to have ended the Olden Times in the Parish. Culloden and the outrages and legislation that followed destroyed many a pleasant feature in the lives and customs of the people; but they also closed the wars and the strifes and the spoliations that marked the course of centuries of trouble

1 One effect of the Rising, and the troubles that followed it, was to greatly reduce the birthrate in the Parish. The register of baptisms shows that 32 children were baptised in 1744; 30 in 1745; 18 in 1746; and only 12 in 1747.

and turbulence. Since The Forty-Five change has followed change in rapid succession; and now, almost literally, old things are passed away, and all things are become new. Some of these changes will fall to be considered in connection with the ecclesiastical and educational history of the Parish, and the social condition of its inhabitants.[1]

[1] See Appendix L for notices of the principal families of the Parish, from the earliest time to the present day.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHURCH IN THE PARISH—BEFORE THE REFORMATION

Introduction of Christianity.—St Ninian and Ternan.—The Temple, or St Ninian's Chapel.—The Story of Merchard. —His Church in Glenmoriston.—Traditions concerning Him.—His wonderful Bell.—Drostan, Patron Saint of Urquhart.—His Chaplainry and Croft.—Relapse of the People into Paganism.—St Columba's Mission.—Marvellous deeds in the district of Loch Ness.—Opposition of the Druids.—Columba in Urquhart.—Conversion of Emchat and Virolec.—Invermoriston Church.—Columba's Well.—St Adamnan.—The Church of Abriachan.—The Mission of Curadan.—The Church of Corrimony.—Gorman.—The Churches of Lag an t-Seapail, Achnahannet, Pitkerrald, Kilmichael, and Kilmore.—The Celtic Clergy and their Services.—Fall of the Druids.—Their Religion and its Remains.—The Roman Catholic Church Established.—Origin of Parishes and Church Endowments.—Erection of the Parish of Urquhart.—The Parish Church and its Property.—The Chapels and their Crofts.—The Chancellor of Moray.—The Clergy of the Church and Chapels.—The Reformation.—The Parish Priest turns Protestant.—Loss of the Church Lands in the Parish.—The People Spiritually Destitute.

THE early ecclesiastical history of our Parish, like its early civil history, is involved in much obscurity. Christianity was probably introduced into the South of Scotland by the Roman soldiers in the first or second century; but it was left to St Ninian, who flourished in the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, to preach its doctrines with

any degree of success among the native population. Through his missionary ardour and evangelical zeal, the Southern Picts, who occupied the country lying to the south and east of the Grampians, forsook their paganism. It has hitherto been assumed that neither he nor his followers had any share in the introduction of our faith into the territory of the Northern Picts, to whom, it has been said, the message of salvation was first delivered by St Columba. That assumption does not appear to be well founded. The dedications which we find in honour of St Ninian within that territory, including the Temple, or Kil St Ninian, in Urquhart,[1] justify the belief that, if he did not himself labour among the Northern Picts, the Gospel which he preached in the South was conveyed to them by his immediate disciples. It could not well have been otherwise.

[1] The district of St Ninians in our Parish is, in Gaelic, called *Slios an Trinnein*—Ninian's Hill-side. Trinnean, Ringan, &c., are forms which the name has assumed since the Saint's time. St Ninian's Well, at the Temple, continued down to our own time to be visited by men and women in search of health. In a description written early in the seventeenth century of certain parts of the Highlands (printed in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, Vol. II., Scot. History Society), we read regarding the Temple and Well: —"There is one litle Chappell at this Loghside in Wrquhattane [Urchudainn, Urquhart] which is call Kil Saint Ninian, and certaine Hieland men and woemen doeth travell to this chappell at a certane tyme of the zeare expecting to recover there health agane, and doeth drink of certaine springand Wells that is next to the Chappell." "There is," says William Lorimer in a report on Urquhart, dated 1763 (at Castle Grant), "a farm in it called The Temple, where there stand the ruins of a church, and a consecrated well to which superstitious people resort for curing diseases." See "Saints Associated with the Valley of the Ness," by the Author, Trans. of Gaelic Society of Inverness, April, 1909.

The two sections of the Picts formed essentially one people, speaking the same language, and sometimes acknowledging the same authority. Intercourse between them was constant, and tidings of the great conversion in Southern Pictland must have reached and influenced the North. Travellers would tell of it as they journeyed, and enthusiastic converts would press northward with the Good News which they had themselves received. Ternan, for instance—a native of the Mearns, who sat at the feet of St Ninian, and who preached with much success in the north-east of Scotland—can never have bounded his zeal for the salvation of the Picts by the invisible line which is supposed to have separated the Pictish provinces; and Ternan's disciple, Erchard, it is almost certain, penetrated far into the northern territory. A tradition which has probably come down from his own time tells that he was the first who preached the gospel in Glenmoriston, and to him the ancient church of that Glen—Clachan Mhercheird—was dedicated.

Erchard, or Merchard, as he latterly came to be called,[1] was a native of the district of Kincardine O'Neil, on the southern slopes of the Grampians. He became a zealous Christian in his early youth, and Ternan not only ordained him priest, but also appointed him his own coadjutor. It was perhaps

[1] Merchard is *Mo Erchard,* signifying *my* Erchard. The old Celts of Ireland and Scotland had a habit of placing the pronoun *mo* (my) before the names of their favourite saints as a term of affection. The prefix has no connection with *maith,* good. The name Erchard is in ancient writings variously written :—*Erchard, Erchad, Erchan, Erthadus, Irchard, Yrchardus.*

while he laboured with Ternan that he visited our Parish. In after life he went to Rome, and was consecrated bishop by Pope Gregory. On his return journey he visited the Picts of Pictavia, now Poitou, in France, and brought back to the truth such of them as had lapsed into paganism. Falling sick, he prayed God that he might not see death till he arrived in his own country, and hastened northward through France and England. He reached Kincardine O'Neil to be honourably received by his people, and then died. According to his own instructions, his body was placed on a cart drawn by two horses, which were allowed to go forth where they listed. He was buried where they first stopped, and a church was built over his grave.

Such, briefly, are the circumstances of his life and death, as given in the Breviary of Aberdeen and other ancient writings. Much more is told of him in the traditions of Glenmoriston. While labouring in Strathglass with two missionary companions, his attention was drawn to a white cow which day after day stood gazing at a certain tree, without bending its neck to eat, and yet went home each evening as well filled as the other cattle. Curiosity, or a higher influence, led him to dig up the earth at the foot of the tree, and there he found three bells, new and burnished as if fresh from the maker's hands.[1] Taking one himself, and giving the others to his companions, he bade each go his own way and erect a church where his bell should ring the third time of its own accord. One went eastward,

[1] The place at which the bells were found is still called *Craobh-nan-clag* (Crinaglack)—the Tree of the Bells.

and founded the church of Glenconvinth; another westward, and erected his church at Broadford in Skye; while Merchard himself travelled southward in the direction of Glenmoriston. When he reached the hill now called Suidh Mhercheird, or Merchard's Seat, his bell rang for the first time; it again rang at Fuaran Mhercheird (Merchard's Well) at Ballintombuie; and it rang the third time at that spot by the side of the River Moriston which is now the old burying-ground of Glenmoriston. There he built his church—Clachan Mhercheird; and there and in the surrounding districts he for a time taught and preached. He became the patron saint of Glenmoriston; and his solicitude for the Glenmoriston people has not yet ceased. His acts of mercy and love have been without number. One example may be given. In former times, when a tenant died, his best horse went to the proprietor as *each-ursainn*—herezeld, or heriot. If the deceased left no horse, a horse's value was taken in cattle or sheep. On one occasion—twelve hundred years after Merchard's death—it came to pass that a poor Glenmoriston tenant died, leaving a widow to succeed him. He had left no horse, and the ground-officer took the heriot in sheep. That same night, as the officer lay in bed, an unearthly voice spake to him :—

" 'S mise Merchard mor nam feart,
'S mi dol dachaidh chum an anmoich;
Is innis thusa do Mhac-Phadruig
Nach fheaird e gu brath a' mheanbh-chrodh!"

(" I am great Merchard of the miracles, passing homeward in the night. Declare thou unto Mac Phatrick [the laird] that the widow's sheep will never bring him good.")

With the morning's sun the terror-stricken man appeared before his master and delivered the ghostly message. The sheep were instantly returned to the widow, and from that day until now no heriot has been exacted in Glenmoriston.

Merchard's bell was preserved at his clachan until about the year 1870, when it went amissing—removed, it is supposed, by strangers employed in the district. Its powers and attributes were of a wonderful order. It indicated, as we have seen, where Merchard's church was to be built. Until the very last the sick and infirm who touched it in faith were strengthened and cured. After the church became ruinous, in the seventeenth century, the bell was kept on an ancient tombstone, specially set apart for it. If removed to any other place it mysteriously found its way back. When a funeral approached, it rang of its own accord, saying, "Dhachaidh! dhachaidh! gu do leabaidh bhuan!"—"Home! home! to thy lasting place of rest!" If thrown into water it floated on the surface, but this the people were slow to put to the test, in deference to Merchard's warning:—

"'S mise Merchard thar an fhonn:
Cuimhnichibh trom trom mo shàr'adh;
'S fiach' nach cuir sibh air-son geall
An clag so air a' pholl a shnamhadh."

("I am Merchard from across the land: keep ye my sufferings deep in your remembrance; and see that ye do not for a wager [or trial] place this bell in the pool to swim.")

As Merchard was the patron saint of Glenmoriston, so Drostan was the patron saint of Glen-Urquhart,

which is to this day distinguished from the other Urquharts in the North by the name of Urchudainn Mo Chrostain—St Drostan's Urquhart. There was a chaplainry in his honour at the Temple, or Kil St Ninian, until the Reformation.[1] According to the Breviary of Aberdeen he was a nephew of St Columba, who, if we may credit a legend recorded in the Book of Deer, accompanied him into Aberdeenshire. But he does not appear in the Irish genealogies of Columba's family; and he is not mentioned by St Adamnan, who wrote soon after the great missionary's death, and was careful to record the names of his fellow-labourers. His name is not Gaelic, as it would have been if he were of Columba's race, but Pictish or Welsh—it is the same as Tristan of the Arthurian tales—and the strong probability is that, like Merchard, he was a native of Southern Pictland who penetrated into the North long before Columba's time.[2] Tradition tells that he preached the Gospel in Urquhart, and supported himself by cultivating Croit Mo Chrostain —St Drostan's Croft—on the top of that pretty hillock which is situated immediately to the west of Balmacaan House. The Croft may have been the gift of the Pictish potentate who ruled the Glen in his day. It passed to the Roman Catholic Church on its establishment about the beginning of the twelfth

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 124.

2 It may now (1913) be taken as established that "St Columba" of the Breviary is a mistake for St Colm of Buchan, and that Drostan was a native of the same Pictish district, and lived about 500. See a valuable paper by the Rev. Arch. B. Scott on "St Drostan of Buchan," in Trans. of Gaelic Society of Inverness, April, 1909.

century, and in 1556 it was attached to the Chapel of St Ninian, whose disciple Drostan may have been. At the Reformation it ceased to be Church property.

The Picts were a fickle race, who after a time relapsed into paganism—"the apostate Picts," St Patrick calls them.[1] The secular clergy of Ninian's Church proved unequal to the task of dispelling the spiritual darkness that lay on the land. But a more powerful institution was about to be established. In 563 Columba, or Columcille—Colum or Malcolm of the Cell—an Irish prince and priest, crossed to Scotland, burning with missionary fervour, in penance, it is said, for his share in some tribal feud. Landing in Iona with twelve companions, he founded a monastery there, from which he and they went forth on evangelistic expeditions into the surrounding districts. After labouring for two years among the inhabitants of Mull and the West Coast, he resolved to visit Brude Mac Mailcon, King of the Picts, who had his seat on the banks of the River Ness. Columba was a Scot or Gael of the same nationality as the Dalriad Scots who had before his time settled in the country now known as Argyll, and whom Brude had disastrously defeated in 560; and while he was moved by a holy compassion for the Picts who were perishing in their paganism, he probably also desired to promote the temporal peace and prosperity of his own people. Taking with him, among others, two

1 In his letter to Coroticus, St Patrick speaks of *Socii Scotorum et Pictorum apostatarunt;* and again, *Præsertim indignissimorum pessimorumque atque apostatarum Pictorum.* Life of St Ninian (Historians of Scotland), 281.

eminent saints of the race of the Irish Picts—Cainneach of Achaboe, and Comgall of Bangor—he started on his memorable journey in 565, proceeding along the Caledonian Valley, and preaching and teaching as he went. His reception by the King was not friendly. "When the Saint made his first journey to King Brude," says Adamnan, "it happened that the King, elated by the pride of royalty, acted haughtily, and would not open his gates on the first arrival of the blessed man. When the man of God observed this, he approached the folding doors with his companions, and having first formed upon them the sign of the cross of our Lord, he then knocked at and laid his hand upon the gate, which instantly flew open of its own accord, the bolts having been driven back with great force. The Saint and his companions then passed through the gate thus speedily opened. And when the King learned what had occurred, he and his councillors were filled with alarm, and immediately setting out from the palace, he advanced to meet with due respect the blessed man, whom he addressed in the most conciliatory and respectful language. And ever after, from that day, so long as he lived, the King held this holy and reverend man in very great honour, as was due."[1]

The Saint's deeds at the court of Brude must have made a great impression on the inhabitants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Wonderful these were, according to Adamnan. On one occasion, being

[1] Adamnan's Vita Sancti Columbæ.

obliged to cross the Ness, he, on reaching the river's bank, found a number of people burying a man who had just been killed by a water monster. Nothing dismayed, he directed his companion, Lugne Mocumin, to swim across the stream and bring to him a boat that lay against the opposite bank. Lugne obeyed, and when he was about half across the monster gave an awful roar, and darted after him. "Then the blessed man [Columba] observing this, raised his holy hand, while all the rest, brethren as well as strangers, were stupified with terror, and, invoking the name of God, formed the saving sign of the cross in the air, and commanded the ferocious monster, saying, Thou shalt go no further nor touch the man; go back with all speed. Then at the voice of the Saint the monster was terrified, and fled more quickly than if it had been pulled back with ropes, though it had just got so near to Lugne as he swam that there was not more than the length of a spear staff between the man and the beast. Then the brethren, seeing that the monster had gone back, and that their comrade Lugne returned to them in the boat safe and sound, were struck with admiration, and gave glory to God in the blessed man. And even the barbarous heathens who were present were forced by the greatness of this miracle, which they themselves had seen, to magnify the God of the Christians."

The druids, as was natural, strongly opposed Columba's work in the district of the Ness. One evening as he and his companions were singing hymns outside the King's fort a party of pagan priests drew near and endeavoured to interrupt

them. "On seeing this the Saint began to sing the forty-fourth psalm, and at the same moment so wonderfully loud, like pealing thunder, did his voice become, that King and people were struck with terror and amazement."

Broichan, the chief druid, was especially zealous in his opposition to the Saint; but his zeal only served to bring defeat and humiliation upon himself. On his refusal to liberate a female slave who had been taken captive in one of the Pictish invasions of Dalriada, Columba thus warned him in the King's presence:—"Know, O Broichan, and be assured, that if thou refuse to set this captive free as I desire thee, thou shalt die suddenly before I take my departure again from this province." The Saint then proceeded to the river, and, taking a white pebble, informed his companions that by it the cure of many diseases would be effected—and that at that moment Broichan had been struck by an angel from Heaven and was gasping for breath, and half dead. As he spoke, two horsemen galloped up and said to him, "The King and his friends have sent us to thee to request that thou wouldst cure his foster-father, Broichan, who lieth in a dying state." The Saint sent two of his companions to the King with the pebble, and bade them, if Broichan promised to free the maiden, to immerse the stone in water, and to let him drink of the water, and he should be cured. No sooner were the words of Columba conveyed to the sick man than he released the captive, and delivered her to the Christians. "The pebble was then immersed in water, and, in a

wonderful manner, contrary to the laws of nature, the stone floated on the water like a nut or an apple, nor, as it had been blessed by the holy man, could it be submerged. Broichan drank from the stone as it floated on the water, and, instantly returning from the verge of death, recovered his perfect health and soundness of body." After this, it is not surprising to learn, the pebble was preserved among the treasures of the King, and effected the cure of many diseases. "And what is very wonderful, when this same stone was sought for by those sick persons whose term of life had arrived it could not be found. Thus, on the very day on which King Brude died, though it was sought for, yet it could not be found in the place where it had been previously laid."

Broichan's illness and cure, wonderful though they were, failed to draw him from his own ancient belief. Endowed in some measure with the marvellous gifts which distinguished the Egyptian magi in their contest with Moses, he also possessed no small share of their persistency; and he refused to accept his defeat in the matter of the slave as conclusive evidence of the Christian's superior power. "Tell me, Columba," said he, "when dost thou propose to set sail." "I intend," replied the Saint, "to begin my voyage after three days, if God permits me and preserves my life." "On the contrary," said the druid, "thou shalt not be able, for I can make the winds unfavourable to thy voyage, and cause a great darkness to envelope you in its shade." Columba answered, "The almighty power of God ruleth all things, and in His name and under His guiding providence all our

movements are directed;" and at the appointed time he and his companions repaired to the shores of Loch Ness, with the intention of setting sail. They were followed by a crowd of people, among whom were certain druids, exulting exceedingly—for, as Broichan had promised, a fierce tempest blew from the west, and dark clouds obscured the heavens. "Our Columba, therefore, seeing that the sea was violently agitated, and that the wind was most unfavourable for his voyage, called on Christ the Lord, and embarked in his small boat; and whilst the sailors hesitated, he the more confidently ordered them to raise the sails against the wind. No sooner was this order executed, while the whole crowd was looking on, than the vessel ran against the wind with extraordinary speed. And after a short time the wind, which hitherto had been against them, veered round to help them on their voyage, to the intense astonishment of all. And thus throughout the remainder of that day the light breeze continued most favourable, and the skiff of the blessed man was carried safely to the wished for haven."

Such are some of the incidents which are said to have marked Columba's first visit to the district of Loch Ness. Brude became a Christian, and befriended the Saint, who subsequently made other journeys to the royal palace. On one occasion, when travelling near Loch Ness, "he was suddenly inspired by the Holy Ghost, and said to his companions, 'Let us go quickly to meet the holy angels who have been sent from the realms of the highest

Heaven to carry away with them the soul of a heathen, and now wait our arrival there, that we may baptise in due time before his death this man, who hath preserved his natural goodness through all his life, even to extreme old age.' Having said this much, the holy old man hurried his companions as much as he could, and walked before them until he came to a district called Airchartdan [Urchudainn, or Urquhart]; and there he found an aged man whose name was Emchat, who, on hearing the word of God preached by the Saint, believed and was baptised, and, immediately after, full of joy and safe from evil, and accompanied by the angels who came to meet him, passed to the Lord. His son Virolec also believed, and was baptised with all his house.'' The fact that Adamnan describes Columba in this passage as an old man *(senex)*, would seem to show that Emchat's conversion took place, not during the Saint's first visit to Pictland, when he was only forty-four years of age, but at a later period. On the other hand, it is possible that Adamnan may have used the word as a term of respect rather than to indicate Columba's age.

In Glenmoriston Columba probably founded the old church at Invermoriston, which was known as Clachan Cholumchille, or Columba's Church. In the immediate vicinity of its site is Columba's Well—Fuaran Cholumchille—a holy fountain noted for many centuries for its remarkable curative properties. The origin of its renown in Christian times is probably found in Adamnan's pages. ''While the blessed man [Columba] was stopping for some days in the pro-

vince of the Picts, he heard that there was a fountain famous among this heathen people, which foolish men, having their senses blinded by the devil, worshipped as a god. For those who drank of this fountain, or purposely washed their hands or feet in it, were allowed by God to be struck by demoniacal art, and went home either leprous or purblind, or at least suffering from weakness or other kinds of infirmity. By all these things the pagans were seduced, and paid divine honour to the fountain. Having ascertained this, the Saint one day went up to the fountain fearlessly; and, on seeing this, the druids, whom he had often sent away from him vanquished and confounded, were greatly rejoiced, thinking that he would suffer like others from the touch of that baneful water. But he, having first raised his holy hand and invoked the name of Christ, washed his hands and feet; and then, with his companions, drank of the water which he had blessed. And from that day the demons departed from the fountain; and not only was it not allowed to injure any one, but even many diseases amongst the people were cured by this same fountain, after it had been blessed and washed in by the Saint.'' The fountain which the Saint so blessed and washed in may, without any undue straining of the imagination, be identified with his Well at Invermoriston. That spring has, despite his rebuke, continued to be in a sense worshipped until our own time, and searchers after health may not even yet have entirely ceased to sprinkle themselves with its water, and to leave their little offerings by its side.

With the last word of Adamnan's account of Columba's work in our district the light of history leaves us for five centuries, and during that long period of night we have to trace the progress of the Church as best we can by the help of the footprints which it has left on the tradition and topography of the country.

St Adamnan, who became abbot of Iona in 679, and did much to spread the Gospel in Pictland, was commemorated in our Parish by Croft Adamnan—probably the hollow at Tychat which is now known as Glaic Chill-Adhamhnain, the Hollow of Kil-Adamnan—and by a chaplainry at Kil St Ninian;[1] and he it was, probably, who founded the church of Abriachan, which was dedicated to him.[2] It is not too much to suppose that he visited Urquhart—that Airchartdan which lay on the route from the west to the east, and which, as he himself informs us, was the scene of such important events in the history of the Church as the conversion of Emchat and Virolec.

Contemporaneous with St Adamnan was Curadan, or Kiritinus, surnamed Boniface, an Irishman who for sixty years preached to the Picts and Scots, and who became bishop and abbot of Rosemarkie, where

1 See p. 116, *supra*.

2 In Gaelic, the church of Abriachan is called *Cill Adhamhnain* (now pronounced *Eonan*)—Adamnan's Cell. See Reeves' Edition of Adamnan's Life of Columba, and Forbes' Kalendar of Scottish Saints, for the various changes which the name *Adamnan* has undergone during the course of centuries—*Eonan, Eunan, Aunan, Onan, Ounan*. In a rental of Urquhart, dated 1647 (at Castle Grant), his Croft is called Croft *Indon*—Eonan's Croft. In the Letters of Collation of 1556 (Appendix M to this work) it is called *Crofta Sancti Adampnani*, St Adamnan's Croft.

he died at the age of eighty. To him was dedicated the old chapel at Corrimony—Clach Churadain—and after him is called Croit Churadain (Curadan's Croft), and Tobar Churadain (Curadan's Well), both on the adjacent lands of Buntait. The neighbouring churches of Bona and Struy were also dedicated to him. According to tradition, he and Gorman, a saint who gave his name to the hill called Suidh Ghuirmein, or Gorman's Seat, near Corrimony,[1] were the first to evangelise the people of the Braes of Urquhart. Whether that be true or not, these dedications and place-names show how intimately associated he was with the district.

In addition to the churches of Merchard, Columba, and Curadan, which may have been founded by those saints, there was in those olden times a chapel at Lag an t-Seapail—the Hollow of the Chapel—in Bunloit, where traces of old graves are still visible; there was a church at Ach na h-Anoid (Achnahannet)—the Field of the Church—in Leny;[2] a chapel at Pitkerrald which was dedicated to St Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, who was held in great repute in the Celtic Church; a chapel at St Ninians, dedicated to the Apostle of the Southern Picts, and known in Gaelic as *An Teampull*,

[1] The ancient saints gave their names to numerous hills. In Urquhart we have Suidh Ghuirmein (Gorman's Seat); in Glenmoriston, Suidh Mhercheird (Merchard's Seat); at Lochend, Suidh Churadain (Curadan's Seat); and near Fort-Augustus, Suidh Chuimein (Cumine's Seat). The old name of Fort-Augustus was Kil-Chuimein.

[2] *Anoid* was the word applied to the first or mother church of a district. The cell at Leny was probably the first built in Glen-Urquhart.

ANCIENT TREES AT SITE OF TEMPLE

or the Temple;[1] a church at Kil Michael, dedicated to the Archangel; and another at Kilmore, which became in time the Parish Church. With the exception of Kilmore—A' Chille Mhor, the Great Cell—and perhaps also the Temple,[2] these buildings were very small.

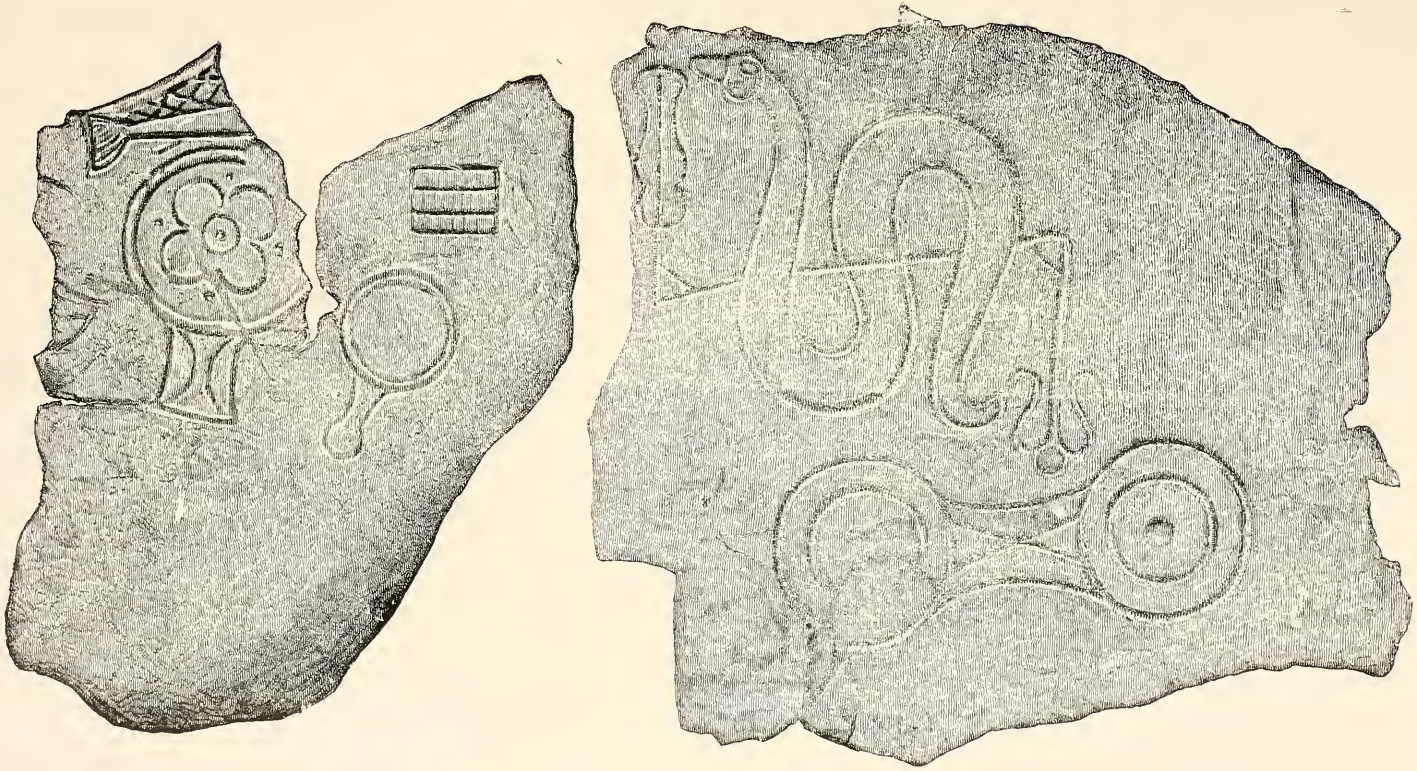
They were intended, not so much for the purposes of public worship, as for places of private devotion, and retreats for holy hermits who watched and prayed in them and sought to keep themselves unspotted from the world, and to teach the people to live blamelessly and do well, by a simple telling of the story of Christ, and a faithful following after His example. Trained for the most part at Iona, these teachers were not only men of education and expert scribes, but also experienced husbandmen, who cultivated the crofts which were attached to their cells, and so maintained themselves and showed the people how to make the earth yield its substance. Before them the old paganism, which had flourished in the land for ages, gave way with scarcely a struggle. What the exact character of that paganism was it is difficult to say. But it is known that its votaries adored the "men of *sidhe*"—spirits of the earth

[1] Numerous chapels in the Highlands and in Ireland were called *Teampuill*. There is no ground for the surmise that the Temple in Urquhart belonged to the Knights Templars.

[2] In 1559 the Parish Church and the Temple had suspended bells, with bell-ropes. At that time the priest also served in the Temple and "the chaplainry and service of St Ninian, St Drostan, and St Adamnan" (Appendix M). In the Temple were preserved the relics of St Drostan—a crucifix—which were under charge of a *deoir* or keeper, who had a croft at Kil St Ninian—Croit an Deoir—which is mentioned as late as 1649.—(Rental at Castle Grant).

which have come down to us in the somewhat degenerate *daoine-sidhe*, or fairies. Similar spirits ruled the elements, and the greatest name that a Highlander can even now apply to the Almighty is *Righ nan duil*—King of the elements. Mysterious beings dwelt in the fountains, whose worship is now seen in the adoration of holy wells; and the ancient demons of the mountains have their representatives in the hags and goblins which are still the terror of certain localities. These spirits had magi or druids as their ministers on earth. Their existence and power were not denied by the Christian missionaries, who were content to say that the Almighty was more powerful than they; and hence the belief in fairies and demons, and in the virtue of pagan sacrifices and oblations, continued to exist side by side with Christianity, and has not even yet been entirely destroyed.

From the time of Curadan to the end of the eleventh century, we have not a ray of light to guide us in our ecclesiastical journey. By whom, and under what conditions, the lamp of the Gospel was kept burning in Urquhart and Glenmoriston during that long period of darkness, we cannot tell. When the day dawns we find the Celtic Church of Columba in disagreement on certain points of discipline with the Church of Rome, which had become all powerful under the patronage of Malcolm Ceannmor and Queen Margaret and their children. Roman Catholics claim to be the representatives of the Celtic institution, and so do Scottish Episcopalians, and Presbyterians. The succession does not exclusively belong to any one of these bodies, but is to



ANCIENT SCULPTURED STONES AT BALMACAAN

some extent shared by all. On certain points, again, the Celtic Church had no succession. The abbot, and not the bishop, ruled the community. Bishops there were, but they were almost as numerous as priests and presbyters, and had no diocesan jurisdiction. On the questions of Easter and the Tonsure the Celtic clergy differed from the clergy of the Church of Rome. On the other hand, they agreed with them on certain doctrines which are not accepted by Presbyterians and Protestant Episcopalians.

Differences with Rome were partly removed in the days of Adamnan and Curadan—the great object of the latter's mission having been to bring the Celtic Church more into accord with the great Church of the West. Under the auspices of Queen Margaret and her sons churches and monasteries were founded and liberally supported. Alexander the First and David the First created territorial bishoprics, and richly endowed them with the lands which had belonged to the Celtic institution, and with more extensive grants of their own. The bishopric of Moray was created about the year 1115, and Gregory appointed its first bishop. It embraced, roughly, the territory of the ancient Mormaors of Moray, including the district of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.

It has been found convenient to apply the word *parish* to that district before the period at which we have now arrived, but as a matter of fact there were no parishes in Scotland before that time. The parochial system was the creation of the Roman Catholic Church and the territorial magnates who supported it, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Roman etstablishment, as we have seen, obtained the possessions of the Celtic clergy, and extensive grants from the kings. These endowments were immensely increased by the great landowners, who vied with each other in pious liberality. To some churches lands were granted; others were made the principal churches of certain domains, and endowed not only with land, but also with a tenth (tithe or teind) of the annual produce of the districts assigned to them. The district so assigned became the parish;[1] the favoured church, the parish church; its benefactor and his successors, the patrons; and the teinds, its legal and absolute property. The greater or parsonage teinds, which consisted of every tenth sheaf of corn, were taken off the field by the rector or parson of the parish, or by the tacksman who rented them from him. The lesser or vicarage teinds consisted of the tenth part of such products as calves, lambs, hay, and cheese, and went to the vicar who served the cure.

The Parish of Urquhart[2] was erected probably by King David—that "Sair Sanct" whose liberality

[1] The word *parish* is from the Latin *parochia*. Originally, in Scotland, the district attached to a church was called *schir*, or *scir*—from which word came the modern *shire*. *Scir* is still the Gaelic for *parish*.

[2] "Urquhart" was the name of the whole Parish, including Glenmoriston. The name "United Parish of Urquhart and Glenmoriston," by which it is now commonly known, is, historically, incorrect. There never was a Parish of Glenmoriston, and never a "union" either of parishes or of churches. The error originated after the Reformation. See next chapter as to the Rev. Robert Monro's attempt in the seventeenth century to make Glenmoriston independent of Urquhart. "Urquhart" is Adamnan's *Airchartdan* (in Pictish, "By the wood"). The name originally applied only to the locality in which the principal church—Kilmore, the Great Cell—stood. When the Parish was erected, it, as was customary, took the name of the principal church. See Appendix V.

to the Church impoverished the Crown—during the period of peace that followed the defeat and slaughter of the Moraymen in 1130; or by Malcolm the Second after the Plantation of Moray in 1160. It embraced the vast domain which was attached to the Castle of Urquhart—the Glens of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, with the exception of Buntait, which was the property of the chiefs of Lovat, and was consequently included in the parish of Kiltarlity. The church of Kilmore was made the parish church, and endowed with land and teinds. We first find it on record in the time of Bricius, who was bishop of Moray from 1203 to 1222. In that prelate's "magna carta," founding a chapter of eight canons, and giving his cathedral a constitution, the church is described as the church of Urquhart beyond Inverness—"*ecclesia de Hurchard ultra Inuernys.*"[1] It is also so described in the Pope's protection of 1215.[2]

Before Bricius' time the Parish had its resident rector or parson, who drew the teinds, and personally attended to the duties of his office. The aggrandisement of the Church soon called for other arrangements. By Bricius' great charter the church of St Peter in Strathavon, on Speyside, with its chapels, and land, and other pertinents, and the church of our Parish, with all its just pertinents, were granted to the chancellor of Moray as his prebend or benefice.[3] Henceforth, therefore, and

[1] Registrum Moraviense, 41.
[2] Ibid, p. 43. See p. 14, *supra*. [3] Ibid, p. 41.

until the Reformation, that dignitary drew the greater teinds, and the produce of certain lands attached to the church; but he only occasionally visited the Parish, and the spiritual interests of the people were virtually left to the care of a vicar, who served in the parish church, and received the lesser teinds as his reward, and of humbler priests who officiated in the chapels. The Roman Catholic authorities, more liberal than the Lords of the Congregation, who served their own worldly ends by destroying the old Church at the Reformation and giving a selfish and stinted support to the new, were not content to leave the spiritual requirements of our extensive Parish to be met by the parish church and its single clergyman. The old Celtic cells, or at least some of them, continued till the Reformation to be used as chapels for prayer and devotion. Church and chapels were well endowed. Originally, Kilmore possessed a half davach of land, which was the subject of a dispute between the chancellor and Sir Alan Durward, in 1233;[1] after that year its possessions were a quarter of a davach, and a toft and croft of four acres near the church. The revenues of the estate of Achmonie, which was originally attached to the church of Kilmichael, were latterly enjoyed by the bishops, until Bishop Hepburn sold it to John Mackay in 1557.[2] Immediately before the Reformation we find the lands of Pitkerrald, and the crofts of St Ninian, St Drostan, and St Adamnan, attached to the chapel of St Ninian;[3]

1 See p. 16, *supra*. 2 See p. 116, *supra*. 3 Ibid.

while there were church lands in Glenmoriston,[1] and probably also at Corrimony (near which is Curadan's Croft) and Lag an t-Seapail and Achnahannet. These pious gifts of old were at the Reformation lost to the cause of religion, and henceforth the Church had to content itself with the share of the teinds allocated to it from time to time.

There is, unfortunately, not much to tell of the history of the Church in Urquhart and Glenmoriston during the Roman Catholic period. Of the priests who served in the chapels, we only know the names of two—Sir John Donaldson, chaplain of Kil St Ninian in the time of Queen Mary, and his immediate predecessor, Sir Duncan Macolrig.[2] Of the vicars of the Parish, the name of one only has come down to us —Mr James Farquharson, who held the office at the Reformation, and became an exhorter in the Church of Knox.[3] The causes and history of the fall of the old Church do not come within the scope of this work. The Laird of Grant was a member of that Parliament which in 1560 abolished the supremacy of the Pope in Scotland. He was followed into Protestantism by Mr Farquharson and the people of Urquhart, and by many of the inhabitants

1 See footnote, p. 117, *supra*.

2 See Donaldson's Letters of Collation, &c. Appendix M.

3 See next Chapter. It must not be supposed, as is usually done, that the clergy who were styled *Sir* were superior to those who were styled *Mr* (Master). The reverse was the case. *Mr* indicated that the person before whose name it appeared had taken the degree of Master of Arts—*Sir*, that he had only taken the lower degree of Bachelor of Arts. In the Latin deeds of the time *Sir* was rendered *Dominus*—whence the word "dominie," still vulgarly applied to a schoolmaster.

of Glenmoriston. It was a case of Follow the Laird;[1] conviction of the errors of the old religion and of the divine origin of the new, there probably was none; and many years elapsed ere the spiritual fervour of the Southern reformers found a place in the breasts of the Urquhart opponents of the Pope. For a time, indeed, the last state of the Parish was worse than the first. The church lands and revenues were quietly appropriated; the chapels in which the people had worshipped for a thousand years were closed and allowed to fall into ruin; the parish priest was degraded into an exhorter; and after his death the Parish itself was for years without minister, exhorter, reader, or other spiritual guide.

[1] In Glen-Urquhart the proprietors became Protestants, and the tenants and cottars followed their example unanimously. The Chisholm, who owned the adjoining Strathglass, adhered to the old Church, and so did his people. The same process of following the laird can be traced all over the Highlands.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHURCH IN THE PARISH—FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION

The Church of the Reformation.—John Knox's Superintendents. — Episcopacy. — Presbytery Established.—Scarcity of Preachers.—Exhorters and Readers.—Mr James Farquharson Exhorter in Urquhart.—The Parish under the charge of Andrew McPhail.—John McAllan, first Protestant Minister.—The Rev. Alexander Grant.—New Churches. — Grant's troubles with the Church Courts.—He resists the Covenant, but is forced to Subscribe.—The Rev. Duncan Macculloch.—His want of maintenance, and troublous career.—His Deposition.—A Six Years' Vacancy.—Restoration of Episcopacy.—Macculloch reinstated. — A Presbyterial Visitation.—Lamentable state of the Parish.—Macculloch's Resignation.—How he slew a Glenmoriston Man.—Loose and unruly walking in the Parish.—Search for a Minister.—The Rev. James Grant.—His Presbyterial Trials.—Induction Ceremonies.—Persecution of Roman Catholics.—Papal statistics of the Parish.—The Rev. Robert Monro appointed Preacher in Abertarff and Glenmoriston.—His Difficulties, Privations, and Irregularities.—Lord Lovat's Midnight Marriage.—Presbyterial visitation of Urquhart.—Peace and Prosperity.—The Elders.—The Rev. Robert Cumming.—Monro's Protest.—Prelacy in the Parish.—Troubles in the Church.—The Revolution.—Presbytery re-established.

Although the Parliament of 1560 prohibited the celebration of the mass, and destroyed the supremacy of the Pope, it did not directly abolish the Episcopal form of church government, and establish Presbyterianism as it now exists. Thirty years or more

had still to pass to bring about that result. In Knox's scheme, it is true, the word *bishop* does not appear—but we find in it the word *superintendent*, which has the same meaning, and which the Highland Protestant clergy of the time rendered into Gaelic by the word *easpuig*, a bishop.[1] The superintendents had not, indeed, the position or the power of the Roman prelates, but they resembled the old dignitaries in this, that they had the charge of churches and churchmen within certain defined districts which were called by the old episcopalian name of *diocese*. They were not a success, and in 1572 the name of bishop was restored, and a modified Episcopacy was sanctioned which continued till 1592, when Presbyterianism, as we know it, may be said to have been first established. For the first twenty years after the Reformation there were no presbyteries. The first was that of Edinburgh, erected in 1581. Others followed, and all were ratified by Parliament in 1592. In that year we find our Parish within the Presbytery of Inverness, in which it remained till 1724, when it became part of the newly erected Presbytery of Abertarff in the also newly created Synod of Glenelg. In 1884 it was restored to Inverness and the Synod of Moray.

As little did the Parliament of 1560 succeed in immediately destroying Popery in Scotland. For years the old faith refused, in many quarters, to give place to the new. In the Province of Moray the Roman Catholic Bishop Hepburn remained in undisturbed possession of his see till his death in 1573—

[1] Carswell, whom Knox appointed Superintendent of the Isles, describes himself in his Gaelic Liturgy by the word *easbug* (easpuig).

enjoying the church lands as fully, and alienating them as freely, as if Knox had not been born. At the time of his death the Episcopacy established in 1572 prevailed, and the Protestant Bishop Douglas was appointed his successor.

John Knox's scheme provided that there should be a minister in each parish who should preach and teach; but the great majority of the Roman Catholic clergy who followed him into Protestantism had never been trained to preach, and had to content themselves under the new system with the office of exhorter, or of reader. The reader read the Scriptures and the new Protestant service book, but was not allowed to baptise, marry, preach, or expound. The exhorter did not preach, but he expounded Holy Writ, and married, and baptised. James Farquharson, the old vicar of Urquhart, was a Master of Arts, and a fair writer of Latin, but to preach to the extent required by the followers of Knox was no part of his duty as Catholic priest, and when he became a Protestant he was too old to learn.[1] He was accordingly continued as exhorter, at a stipend of £40—probably the same as he had previously enjoyed. He appears to have died before 1574; for in that year there was neither minister, exhorter, nor reader in the Parish,[2] which, with Bona, was placed under the

1 Farquharson, who, as was then the custom of the clergy, had qualified as a notary public, appears to have had an extensive legal practice. Several Latin deeds written by him are extant.

2 Farquharson was Exhorter of Urquhart and Glenmoriston in 1572 (Register of Ministers and their Stipends, in Advocates' Library). The Register of Assignations for the Ministers' Stipends for the year 1574—also in the Advocates' Library—contains certain entries regarding the offices of readers in Urquhart and Glenmoriston, for which see Appendix N.

charge of Andrew McPhail, minister of Farnua in the Aird.[1] In 1586 it received for the first time a Protestant minister of its own in the person of John McAllan.[2] McAllan is mentioned in 1591, and probably held the living till about the year 1620. He was succeeded by Mr Alexander Grant,[3] who was elected during the existence of that hybrid Episcopacy which was established by James the Sixth in the year 1612. Finding the old pre-Reformation churches in ruins, and the people without places of worship, he took steps to rebuild the churches of Kilmore and Glenmoriston. At a meeting of the Synod of Moray held in April, 1624, he was "ordained to proceid in building of his Kirks off Urquhart and Glenmoristoun, seeing he hes alreddie stentit his parochin; and for ye bettir effectuating of ye said work my Lord Bishop hes promised to joyne his request to the Laird of Grant for his concurrance unto the said work;"[4] but he found it difficult to carry this instruction into effect, and three years later the same court ordered him "to forder [further] the building of ye old foundations of ye Kirks of Urquhart and Glenmoristoun, and for fartherance heirof the Moderator of Inverness wt ye bretheren of that presbyterie ar ordained to visit ye bounds and see quhat is expedient, and to report their diligence to ye nixt Synod."[5] The re-erection of these churches followed the Presbytery's visit, the

[1] Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Vol. III. Part I., p. 267.
[2] Ibid, p. 119. [3] Ibid. [4] Records of Synod of Moray.
[5] Ibid. The "old foundation" of the Kirk of Glenmoriston was Clachan Cholumchille at Invermoriston. See p. 333.

ancient walls being no doubt utilized. The Glenmoriston fabric, however, fell into utter ruin before the end of the century. The Kilmore church, altered and repaired from time to time, continued to be the church of the Parish till the present church was built in 1838.[1]

Mr Grant was not a model member of the church courts. In 1625 he was summoned before the Bishop on account of his frequent absence from the meetings of his Presbytery, and was called upon in October, 1626, to explain why he had not attended the last two meetings of the Synod. The explanation he gave was that he lived "in the farrest part of ye diocie," and "culd hear no certantie" of the date of the first meeting; and, as for the second, "he culd noth keip it in respect it was the appointed day of his mariage."[2] As the meetings were held at Elgin these reasons appear valid enough; but the brethren were of a different opinion, and "thocht guid heavilie to rebuik him, and exhorted him to tak his calling moir cairfullie to heart in all tyme cumming."[3]

But a greater penalty than rebuke and exhortation awaited him. Some time previously, a certain Finlay Grant, residing in Glenmoriston, was "contracted" for the purpose of marriage with one Catherine Grant, who resided in Cromdale. Mr

1 In the portion of the old walls still standing there is built-in a stone on which are inscribed the words *Domus Dei* (House of God), Mr Grant's initials, and the date 1630. Its original place was above one of the doors of the church.

2 Moray Synod Records. Grant's wife was a daughter of Mr John Mackenzie, Minister of Dingwall—*(Fasti)*.

3 Ibid.

Dick, minister of Cromdale, wrote to Mr Grant certifying the contract, and requesting that the latter should publish the banns in his church. By this time, however, Finlay had deserted Catherine, and became engaged to a sister of the Laird of Glenmoriston. Mr Grant favoured the latter project, and ignored Mr Dick's request. Complaint was made to the Presbytery, who "inhibited" him from solemnising Finlay's marriage with the Laird's sister; but the inhibition was also ignored, and he married the couple. These facts were reported to the Synod in October, 1626, and he was rebuked and censured, "and ordained to mak his publict repentance in ye kirk of Glenmoristoun, and to pay the soume of fowrtie libs [pounds] money *ad pios usus*." The public repentance was humiliating, but it had to be made—a brother of the Presbytery occupying the pulpit on the occasion.[1]

Mr Grant was attached to the episcopalian form of church government, and, in the struggle which began with the flinging of Jenny Geddes' stool, in July, 1637, he took the side of the bishops, and had the hearty sympathy of Lady Mary Ogilvy, the life-rentrix of Urquhart.[2] For a time he declined to subscribe the Covenant, but in the end he had to yield. At a meeting of the Synod held at Forres on 14th May, 1639, "Andrew Dow fraser [Minister of Boleskine] subscryve and sware to ye Covenant, and so did Mr Alexr. Grant, Minister of Vrquhart, and so did Mr Williame Watsone, Minister at

1 Moray Synod Records. 2 See pp. 146, 147, *supra*.

Dutthell."[1] Notwithstanding this formal adhesion, the Covenant did not prosper in the Parish. The minister did not like it, and Lady Mary continued in open enmity to it. The Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 was even more obnoxious to himself and his people, many of whom joined Montrose in the war to which that bond gave rise, and in course of which Urquhart was invaded by the Covenanting forces, and made the camping ground of the Western loyalists. In the midst of these troubles—in 1645—Mr Grant died—spared the pain of witnessing the expatriation of Montrose, the execution of the King, the rule of the English sectaries, and the extinction for a time of the hopes of the Episcopalians. He was succeeded in 1647 by Mr Duncan Macculloch, minister of the Second Charge of Inverness.

For Macculloch's unprofitable career in the Parish he was himself to some extent to blame; but in a larger measure the responsibility for his failure lay with the heritors and parishioners. The people of Urquhart adhered to the party which their late minister had favoured, and they had little sympathy with the man who now came among them as an avowed Presbyterian and Covenanter. Notwithstanding discouragements, he began well. He strove to remove certain irregularities which existed in connection with marriages between his parishioners and natives of Glengarry and Lochaber, "where there is no minister, neither hath been since the

1 Moray Synod Records.

Reformation,"[1] and where consequently banns could not be proclaimed.[2] He found that the lands which belonged to the Church at the time of the Reformation, and which are referred to as church property as late as 1574, had passed into the possession of the lairds, and that the Parish was without manse, or glebe, or suitable provision for the minister's maintenance; and he applied for a manse and a glebe and an augmentation of stipend. The manse and glebe were "designated" early in 1650, but there was some irregularity in the procedure; and so no manse was erected; while the minister was evicted from the glebe in less than a year. Worse still, his stipend, which was payable partly by the proprietors and partly by the tenants, was entirely withheld. In April, 1651, the attention of the Synod was called to his grievances by Mr James Vass, Minister of Croy, and it was ordained "that quhen the Laird of Grant shall come to Forres, Elgin, or Keith, the ministers at the respective places shall represent to him Mr Duncan McKullo his hard conditione, and desire redresse thereof in the matter of his glebe and provisione, and presse the same seriouslie upon him."[3] Macculloch and certain of his brethren had an interview with the Laird on 5th November, and

1 Moray Synod Records.

2 At a meeting held at Elgin in April, 1648, the Synod referred the matter of the non-proclamation of banns to the General Assembly, "and in the meantime ordaines the said Mr Duncane [Macculloch] for the present to cause proclame such persons in the Kirks of Urquhart and Abertarff, quhilk are the Kirks neirest adjacent to these unplanted boundes" [of Glengarry and Lochaber].

3 Moray Synod Records.

his glebe was probably restored—but by this time he had become discontented and soured and irregular in his ministerial carriage. He ceased to attend the meetings of the church courts, became "verie negligent in his chairge," and was accused of "scandalous conversation [conduct]." At meeting after meeting the charges against him were considered and discussed, until, in 1658, the Presbytery visited Urquhart, and, finding him "worthie of depositione," deposed him accordingly.

For the next six years the Parish was without a minister. During the vacancy—in 1662—that mixed form of Episcopacy peculiar to Protestant Scotland was again established as one of the results of the Restoration of the Stewarts; and, two years later, Macculloch was restored to his living. His temporary seclusion, and his conformity to Prelacy, brought no improvement in his ministerial conduct. He never attended Synod or Presbytery; his neglect of his pastoral duties was even greater than before his deposition; and the state of his flock became a scandal to the Church. A dark picture is drawn by Mr Thomas Houston, minister of Boleskine, who, in August, 1671, reported to the Presbytery "ye sad and lamentable stat of ye Parish off Vrquhart in regard of Mr Duncan McCulloch, Minister there, his slackness in discipline, and neglect of dutie in many things, and absence from his church, quhereby sin and iniquitie is abounding and increasing in ye said Parish."[1] A visitation was appointed, and on

[1] Inverness Presbytery Records. [These Records, and those of the Presbytery of Dingwall, edited by the Author, were in 1896 published by the Scottish History Society].

5th September the brethren met within the church at Kilmore.

Mr Macculloch opened the proceedings with a sermon on the text "Pray without ceasing." There was much need for prayer. Everywhere irregularity and confusion and spiritual destitution met the Presbytery. The session-book was found to be "not a register but a minut rather, and that it was deficient, wanting three yeirs unfilled up." For "this great oversight" Mr Duncan was "rebooked," and "ordeaned by ye Moderator to exhibit a register, and to see quhat was wanting therein, and that against ye nixt presbyteriall meeting." The heritors and elders being "asked anent the minister's doctrine, life, and conversation," replied that they "were all weill satisfied with him as to these, but withall they regrated that he used no family visitation, nor prayed in their families when he lodged in any of his parishioners' houses; and that he did not catechise, nor administer ye sacrament ever since his entrie to ye ministrie there; and that he is a reproach to ye ministrie and ye Parish in going with so beggerly a habit; and though much of his stipend be areasted in ye parishioners' hands, that yet he hath no cair to pay his debt or reliev ye gentlemen from hazard at legal executions in their contrar [against them]." Mr Macculloch having been "sharply rebooked for all these omissiones, and injoyned to mende these things in tymes coming, and that *sub periculo gravioris censurej*," was invited to state his grievances. "Being asked anent his elders and gentlemen,

what satisfaction he had off them, he regrated that he had neither countenance nor maintenance among them, and that quhen he is wrongd or injured in his person or meanes they have not that due regard to him as to resent these wronges and injuries done to him—quherfor he would demitt"—that is, resign. The church officer was so "slack" that he was threatened with dismissal, and the windows of the church were so defective that the session was ordered to apply the fines paid by breakers of the Seventh Commandment in repairing them.[1]

The Synod, on receiving the Presbytery's report, recommended the acceptance of Macculloch's resignation. On 1st December he was met at Doch-na-Craig (Lochend) by four members of the Presbytery, and when the meeting was over he was no longer minister of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.[2]

1 Inverness Presbytery Records.

2 Moray Synod Records. Macculloch's demission is in the following terms:—"I, Mr Duncan Macculloch, Minister of the United Churches of Urquhart and Glenmorestoune, for onerous reasons and causes knowen to my selfe and to my reverend Brethren of the Presbytrie of Invernes, doe demitt, renunce, and resigne my cure and ministrie at the foresaid Kirkes into the hands of the right reverend father in God, Murdo, Lord Bishop of Murray, and give hereby full way and heartie consent that hencefurth my cure may be declared vacand, ay and quhil it please God to provid that people with a man that may have more incouragment to serve among them than I have had dureing my service in that place: In Consideratione quheroff I ever from the dait hereoff renunce, discharge, and resigne my cure, stipend, manses, and gleibes thereoff in all tym coming: In full testimonie quheroff I have both written and subscrived thir presents with my hand at Davach-in-Craig, the first of December 1671 yeirs, befor Mr Alexr. Clarke, minister at Invernes, and Mr Hew Fraser, minister at Kiltarlitie. Mr D. Macculloch."

"Mr A. Clark, Witnes.

"Hugh fraser, Witnesse."

The Presbytery placed it on record that the "omissions" of which Mr Macculloch was guilty were the consequence of "his manifold and heavie discouragements in his Parochin through want of maintenance and countenance, and by stealling and robbing of the little he hath;" and they were not without good grounds for their conclusion. The poor minister had been robbed and despitefully used by both heritors and people. If they had paid his stipend, and treated him with justice and respect, the probability is that he would have efficiently ministered to them, and paid his debts, and gone about in decent attire. He is remembered in the traditions of the Parish, not for his preaching or his piety, but for his prowess in avenging a dastardly outrage on two Urquhart young women. While the girls were tending cattle in the shielings of Corri-Dho, to which the tenants of Urquhart had then a right, certain Glenmoriston men seized them and cut off their breasts. The minister soon afterwards met one of the dastards, and slew him on the spot.

At a meeting of Synod held at Elgin on 9th April, 1672, Macculloch's deed of demission was presented to the Bishop, who thereupon required the Reverend James Stewart, minister of Inveravon and chancellor of Moray, and in the latter capacity patron of the living, to fill the vacancy "with all conveniency." The Presbytery also exhorted the gentlemen and elders of the Parish to co-operate with the chancellor by using "all possible diligence to furnish a minister for

themselves.'' The gentlemen and elders were, however, in no hurry, and the state of the Parish was the subject of the Presbytery's anxious deliberations on 14th August. "The Presbyterie, considering the sad conditione of the Parish off Urquhart, and the manifold abuses committed there, and their loose and unrullie walking through the want of gospell ordinances amongst them, as also the little care they have for providing a minister for themselves, have appoynted Mr James Smith, Minister at Dorres, to goe to Vrquhart and preach to the people the last Lord's day of August instant, and keep session there, and exhort the people to use all possible dilligence for searching out for ane able qualified minister settled for that place, and to that effect that they would send some of their number and meet with the Laird of Grant, the most considerable heritor of the Parish, and Mr James Stuart, Minister at Inveraine [Inveravon], Patrone of the Parishe of Urquhart, for their help and assistance in the work; and till they be provided the gentlemen to keep their people under them in good order.'' These directions were duly obeyed, and on 27th November Mr James Grant, a young unordained "expectant," appeared before the Presbytery and produced a presentation from the patron, together with a letter from the Bishop desiring the Presbytery to put him "to his tryells *cum intuitu ad locum* to the Church of Urquhart." It may be interesting to note what those "trials" were. Grant read a "homilie" before the Presbytery on 8th January, 1673, on the text "For God so loved the

world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" and the same was "approven." On 26th February he satisfactorily "hade his exercise and additione," on Col. ii. 14—"Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to His cross." He "hade his common head" on 12th March, his subject being the Infallibility of the Church—"*de Infallibilitate Ecclesiæ;*" after which he delivered a thesis and "disputed" it with the members of the Presbytery. At a meeting held on the 26th he preached a "populare sermon," was examined in "the languages," and underwent his "questionarie tryells." Having successfully passed through all these trials, he was (on the 26th) "remitted to the Bishope to receave ordinatione, collatione, and institutione;" and Mr Hugh Fraser, minister of Kiltarlity, reported that he had preached at Urquhart the last Lord's day, and served his edict; and that John Grant of Corrimony appeared for himself and the rest of the parishioners, "supplicating the Presbyterie that they would send them Mr James Grant, whom they are most willing to receave as their minister, promiseing to him dutie according to their power, and that in giveing him countenance and maintenance, as also that they will concur with him in discipline and what else may contribute for helping on God's service to God's glorie, and to his encouragement." On the 9th of April Grant attended on the Bishop and Synod at Elgin and "receaved collatione, institutione, and

impositione of hands, and the right hand of fellowshipe, with everything usuall in the like case;" and on 7th May the Presbytery recorded that "be vertue of ane order from the Bishope of Murray, Mr Hugh Fraser, minister of Kiltarlitie, went the last Lord's day to Urquhart, and preached to the people, and admitted Mr James Grant to be future minister there, haveing used all the ceremonyes usuall in the like case."[1] The parishioners accepted him on the

[1] What the usual ceremonies were may be gathered from the following Presbytery minute describing the admission of Mr Gilbert Marshall to be one of the ministers of Inverness in 1674:—"The exercise prescribed the former Presbytrie day was delayed till the next Presbytrie day, because that by the Bishopes appoyntment Mr Gilbert Marshall, who is presented by the Lord Kintaile to the vacant charge of Invernes, had his edict served to this day: wherupon Mr Alexr. [ ], Modr., preached conforme to the ordinance, text Acts 20, 28; the sermon being closed, the edict being the second tyme read, and being asked if their were any person or persons their present that had aught to object against the admissione of the said Mr Gilbert Marshall, at the most patent Kirk door, and thereafter at the severall heritors, magistrates, and others then present, all of them answered negativelie, and earnestlie pressed his admissione; whereupon the Modr. proceeded to the admissione by delivering to him the Sacred Bible, the book of discipline, and the key of the Kirk door, as is usuall in such cases, seriously exhorting him to pietie, humilitie, fidellitie, and sedulitie in his calling, who, with his whole remanent bretheren, gave him the right hand of fellowshipe; and immediatlie therafter the heritours, magistrates, and others present did unanimouslie embrace him by reaching forth their hands to him, declareing their acceptance of the said Mr Gilbert for their minister, promiseing obedience, faithfullness, and assistance to him according to their severall stationes. Thereafter the said Modr. and remanent brethren passed to the Manse and Gleibe somtyme belonging to the late Mr James Sutherland, and gave the said Mr Gilbert reall possessione in the same and locall stipend belonging thereto, dureing his ministrie and service at the said Kirk of Inv'nes, which the said Mr Gilbert accepted, and tooke instrument, ane or moe in Andrew McPhersone, Nottare Publick, his hand, as the same at more length in itself doth proport."

terms proposed by Corrimony, and so he became their minister.

In his time the Bishop and church courts of Moray made some effort to extirpate Roman Catholicism in the province—but the more they persecuted, the more numerous did the persecuted become. Many Protestants joined the ancient Church, and had their children baptised by the "seminary trafficking priests" from Ireland and the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, who "went up and down through the parishes avowedly, confidently, and affrontedly."[1] In 1674, and again in 1679, the ministers were ordered to bring in lists of all who acknowledged the Pope within their respective parishes, and against these church processes and sentences of excommunication were freely launched. Mr Grant was comparatively happy. While the district of Strathglass, just outside his Parish, is described as "so pestered with poperie that a total defectione is feared there iff not speidily prevented,"[2] he is able to grant the following certificate regarding Glen-Urquhart:—"I Mr James Grant, Minister of Urquhart, doe testifie and declare that (blessed be God for it) ther are no Papists in this Paroch of Urquhart except Katherin McDonald, Spouse to Jhon Grant of Coremony, qho was both borne and bred among Papists, and one Hector McLean, a young man baptised in our Church, but bred among Papists since his youth, but nether of these excommunicat; qhich is verified under my hand att Kilmore in Urquhart, 5 of

1 Inverness Presbytery Records. 2 Ibid.

March, 1679."[1] Mr Robert Monro, who was at the time in charge of Glenmoriston, had not so much to be thankful for:—"I, Mr Robert Monro, Minister off Abertarf and Glenmoriston, doe testifie and declaire these Papists did apostatize from the reformed religion before my entrie, vizt. [here are given the names of apostates in Abertarff], Alex. McDonald in Achlean, his wyff and whole familie; Allan McDonald in Innervuick, his whole familie (except his wyffe); Archibald McConchie Vc Phatrick in Innervuick, but not his wyff nor family. The excommunicat are, both for incest and defection to Poperie, John Grant in Duldregin and Katherine Fraser his wyff, and part of his familie. This to be of truth I verify under my hand att Invernes, March 5, 1679."[2]

Ever after the Reformation the people of Glenmoriston were left in a state of spiritual starvation: there was no priest or parson in their own Glen, and the visits of the minister of the Parish were few and far between. The adjoining district of Abertarff or Kilchuimein (now Fort-Augustus) was in the same precarious state of dependence on the minister of Boleskine. In 1675 an attempt was made to provide those desolate places with the means of grace. The ministers of Urquhart and Boleskine joined in petitioning the Bishop, who was "Patron of Kilchuimen," and the Chancellor of Moray, "Patron of Glenmoriston," to have "Mr Robert Monro settled as minister and their helper in the

1 Inverness Presbytery Records. 2 Ibid.

said bounds of Abertarfe and Glenmoriston.'' The Petition, concurred in by the heritors of these bounds, was in January, 1676, submitted by Mr Monro to the Presbytery, who referred it to the Bishop and Chancellor for their decision. That decision was favourable, and Mr Monro, having gone through the customary trials, was ordained by the Bishop on 2nd March, and, on the 12th, admitted at Kilchuimein by Mr Houston, minister of Boleskine, and Mr Grant, minister of Urquhart.[1]

The arrangement, however, did not give satisfaction to all concerned. At a meeting of Presbytery held at Kilchuimein in September, 1677, the Glenmoriston elders—John McEvin in Invermoriston, John McFarquhar and Donald McWilliam in Livishie, and William McAlaster and James Grant in Inverwick—complained that '' the new minister did not keepe with them everie sabbath *per vices.*'' His excuse was that there was no church in Glenmoriston, no bridge on the River Moriston, and '' no boat to transport him to his charge.'' The Presbytery did not expect him to swim to a church which did not exist, and approved of his '' ministeriall deportment;'' and, as his lot was cast near the zealous Roman Catholics of Glengarry, he was exhorted '' to studie the Popish controversie, whereby he would be enabled to convince gainsayers and reclame the astrayeing ignorant.'' He was but poorly supported in his work of reclamation, and his

[1] Inverness Presbytery Records.

success was not great among Catholics or Protestants. His income was not sufficient to keep body and soul together, and, notwithstanding that he eked it out by acting as clerk of the Presbytery, for which he annually received a "rex dollar"[1] from each member, his poverty increased, and he was forced to beg for charity. In 1682 the Synod urged the clergy of the diocese "to mind a contribution to Mr Robert Monro in regard of his present straites and indigencies." The contributions gave temporary relief, but his impecuniosity returned, and led him into irregularities. In November, 1687, he officiated at a "mock marriage" at Inverness, and was suspended in consequence. On 4th April following the suspension was continued by the Synod till the first Sunday in May, on which day, in respect of "two other unorderly marriages" confessed by him, he was ordained to appear publicly in the church of Inverness, and in face of the congregation to "make humble and solemn acknowledgment of his offence anent the said mock marriage, and his other scandalls that accompany'd his miscarriages, craving God pardon, and all whom he might thereby have offended." The order was obeyed, and he was absolved, and restored to his charge.

His suspension brought no lasting improvement, and, years afterwards, he officiated at one of the most irregular and most extraordinary marriages on record. The famous Simon Fraser, early in that

1 Rex or rix dollar: a silver coin of Denmark, and varying in value from 2s 6d to 4s 6d.

wild career in the course of which he won the title and estates of Lovat, resolved to make Lady Amelia Murray, Dowager Lady Lovat, his wife. The wooing was short, and somewhat rough. Our criminal records tell the story. "Captain Simon Fraser takes up the most mad and villanous resolution that ever was heard of; for all in a sudden he and his complices make the lady close prisoner in her chamber [within Beaufort Castle], under his armed guards, and then come upon her with the said Mr Robert Monro, Minister at Abertarff, and three or four ruffians, in the night-time, about two or three in the morning, . . . and having dragged out her maids, Agnes McBryar and —— Fraser, he proposes to the lady that she should marry him, and when she fell in lamenting and crying, the great pipe was blown up to drown her cries, and the wicked villains ordered the minister to proceed. And, though she protested with tears and cries, and also offered all promises of anything else, and declared she would sacrifice her life sooner than consent to their proposal, nevertheless, the said minister proceeds, and declares them married persons, and Hugh Fraser, of Kinmonavie, and the said Hutcheon Oig, both of them thieves and murderers, are appointed for her waiting maids. And though she often swarved [fainted], and again cried out most piteously, yet no relenting. But the bag-pipe is blown up as formerly, and the foresaid ruffians rent off her clothes, cutting her stays with their dirks, and so thrust her into bed."[1]

[1] State Trials.

In the matter of marriage irregularities Monro could point to the example of his superior, the minister of Urquhart. In October, 1682, the Reverend James Grant was accused of "ane irregular walking in marrying two persons in another parish without either license from the Bishope or proclamationes in the church." He confessed his guilt—"although urged thereto by the importunity of friends"—and placed himself in the hands of the Bishop and Synod. "The Lord Bishope and brethern having considered the offence doe suspend the said Mr James from the exercise of his ministeriall function during the Bishopes pleasure, and that Mr Hugh Fraser [minister of Kiltarlity] is appointed to go to Urquhart and intimat the said sentence."[1] The suspension was but of short duration, and before April Grant again filled the pulpit of the Parish church.

This slight offence notwithstanding, Grant appears to have been a good man, and to have given great satisfaction to his people. The report of a Presbyterial visitation of the Parish in 1677 is pleasant reading. The brethren met at Kilmore on 5th June, and were respectfully received by the minister and elders and a "populous meeting of the hearers." The list of elders is evidence of the minister's activity and influence:—Thomas Grant of Balmacaan, John Grant of Corrimony, James Grant of Shewglie, Patrick Grant of Inchbrine, Donald Cumming of Dulshangie and James his son, James

1 Moray Synod Records.

Cumming in Pitkerrald, Farquhar Cumming in Gartallie, William Grant of Achmonie, Alexander and Robert Grant in Kerrowgair, Alexander Grant in Balmacaan, Duncan Grant in Divach, Gregor Grant in Pitkerrald, and others whose names are not recorded. They all united in giving their minister "ane singulare applaus." He was sound in his doctrine, correct in his life and conversation, frequently catechised the people, visited the sick, prayed in the families, "was prepareing for celebrateing the Lord's Supper, which he could not do untill a period should be put to the harvest," and loyally preached yearly on the 29th of May—the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles the Second.[1] Of the elders the minister testified "that they were most faithfull, and that there was nothing could encourage him in his ministeriall office, but they were all most cordiall to strengthen his hands." Never before did the Church in Urquhart enjoy such peace and prosperity; and the moderator, overcome with gratitude, "blessed the Lord for the good applause the minister had of his elders," and for the "sweet harmony" that prevailed. The minister was, indeed, too good to be left in the Parish. A cry soon reached him from another part

[1] Inverness Presbytery Records. The 29th of May, says John Evelyn (Diary, 29th May, 1661), was "appointed by Act of Parliament to be observed as a day of general thanksgiving for the miraculous restauration of His Majesty: our vicar preaching on 118 Psalm, v. 24, requiring us to be thankful and rejoice, as indeede we had cause." In England the day was for many years known as Royal Oak Day, from the custom of placing oak branches in the churches in memory of Charles' escape from Cromwell's soldiers by concealing himself among the branches of an oak tree.

of the vineyard, and in 1685 he was translated to Abernethy in Strathspey.

His successor was Mr Robert Cumming, "expectant," who appeared before the Presbytery on 14th July, 1686, with a presentation to the churches "of Urquhart and Glenmoristone, now vacand," and a letter from the Bishop recommending him for the customary trials, prior to ordination. At the next meeting (11th August) Mr Robert Monro protested against the terms of the presentation, claiming that he himself was minister of Glenmoriston. The protest was referred to the Bishop and Synod, and found to be baseless, Mr Monro being only in the position of "helper;" and, in obedience to the Bishop's instructions, Mr Fraser of Kiltarlitie preached at Kilmore on Sunday, 24th October, and admitted Cumming to be minister of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, "conforme to his presentatione and collation." The new incumbent at once assumed jurisdiction over the delinquents in Glenmoriston, and they were dealt with by the "Session of the united Parochins of Urquhart and Glenmoriston"—Mr Monro's claim and protest being wholly ignored.

The persecutions which disgraced and discredited the Episcopalian party in the South of Scotland during the Killing Time were practically unfelt within the bounds of the Presbytery of Inverness. For years the members of that court were at one in their devotion to Prelacy, and although they had a field for mild persecution among the Roman Catholics

of the bounds, there were no Covenanters against whom proceedings could be instituted. In 1687, however, the Reverend Angus Macbean, of Inverness, who had been ordained a few years previously by the Bishop, "disowned the government of the Church of Scotland as it is now established by law, by Archbishops, Bishops, and Presbyters," and declared his conviction "that Presbitrie was the only government that God owned in these nations." Macbean was at first gently reasoned with; but without effect. Instead of returning to "the Armes of the Church, which were still open and ready to receive him upon his repentance," he "publicly demitted his charge of the ministry under the present Government," went to Ross-shire to preach to the Covenanters of that county, and, returning to Inverness, held a conventicle of his own, "and so began his schisme in one of the most loyall, orderly, and regular cities in the nation."[1] Among his brethren of the Presbytery there was not one to follow his example. On the contrary, they joined in urging the Episcopal authorities "to use all ordinar means for suppressing the schisme begun at Inverness."[2] In February, 1688, he was summoned before the Archbishop of St Andrew, the Bishop of Moray, and other dignitaries, and invited to return to the Episcopal fold. He refused, and was deposed. His sentence was read from the pulpit of the High Church of Inverness, "for vindicating the Church's authority, and Terror of such Back-slyders." But

1 Inverness Presbytery Records. 2 Ibid.

the Back-sliders were on the way to victory, and refused to be terrified; and the end of the Church's authority was at hand. Before the close of the year James the Seventh was driven from the throne; in July, 1689, Episcopacy was abolished by Parliament; and in the following spring Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHURCH IN THE PARISH—FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DISRUPTION

Episcopacy in the Parish—The Rev. Robert Cumming remains Episcopalian, but retains the Living.—Cumming and the Presbyterian Clergy.—The State of the Parish.—Presbyterian Missionaries.—Presbytery Meetings in the Parish.—The Rev. William Gordon.—A Missionary Preacher settled in Glenmoriston.—The Rev. John Grant.—He favours Prince Charles and is imprisoned in England.—His Death and Character.—The Rev. James Grant.—The Rev. James Fowler.—Troubles in the Parish.—The Meetings of Duncan of Buntait.—The Factor interferes and mysteriously Dies.—The Rev. James Doune Smith.—Charges of Immorality.—The People desert the Church.—Presbyterial Enquiry.—Smith interdicts the Presbytery. — The Disruption. — The Rise, Influence, and Character of the Men.—State of Religion in Glenmoriston.—The Rev. Robert Monro.—Royal Bounty Missionaries.—Glenmoriston erected into a Parish *quoad sacra*.—Churches and Chapels in Olden Times.—Worship and Church Service in the Past.—Legends and Relics of the Saints.—Festival Days.—Gaelic Liturgy.—The Gaelic Bible.—Gaelic Tunes.—The Sabbath in Olden Times.—Sports and Pleasures.—Sunday Christenings and Penny Weddings.—Lykewakes.—Introduction of Puritanism.—Its Progress and Effects.

The Reverend Angus Macbean had a considerable following in Inverness at the Revolution, but outside the town few joined the Presbyterian party, of which he was the local leader. The great bulk

of the country people reverenced the bishops, because of the antiquity of their order, and, still more, on account of their loyalty to King James, whom the Presbyterians had deserted. They were Episcopalians, chiefly because they were Jacobites. From a religious or ecclesiastical point of view, it was difficult for them to see wherein the two systems differed. The Episcopalians had their kirk sessions and presbyteries and synods and general assemblies, just as the Presbyterians had; and to the man who seldom or never beheld the bishop, who, under Episcopacy, was perpetual moderator of the synod, the government of the Church under the one system appeared very much the same as under the other. Practically, too, the same order of public worship was followed by both parties. Years passed after the Revolution before the Episcopal Church in Scotland—that is, the body that adhered to the rule of the bishops—betook itself to the regular use of a liturgy, and so entered upon that divergent course which it followed until there was little left to distinguish its services from those of the Church of England. But if the people were unable to discern the difference between the Churches, they had no difficulty in distinguishing the friends of King James —the Tories or Jacobites—from his enemies; and so strong was their dislike to the Whigs and their Presbyterianism, that, in many parishes in Inverness-shire and Wester Ross, the Episcopal clergy who refused to conform when Presbytery was re-established were able to hold their churches and manses and glebes and stipends till the day of their death.

Mr Robert Cumming, minister of Urquhart and Glenmoriston at the Revolution, was an Episcopalian and a Jacobite, and, notwithstanding the presence of the Whig soldiers in the Castle, he refused to conform to Presbytery, or to surrender his charge and its emoluments. In this attitude he had the sympathy and support of his parishioners; and the result was that, for forty years after the legal establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, our Parish remained Episcopalian, having an Episcopalian clergyman as its spiritual guide. It was not until the hopes of the Stewarts had been extinguished at Culloden that the people finally yielded to the inevitable, and began to take kindly to Presbytery.

Cumming, as a matter of course, refrained from attending the Presbyterian church courts; but, otherwise, he and the Presbyterian clergy appear to have behaved towards each other with courtesy and kindliness, and when, in 1724, the Parish became part of the newly-created Presbytery of Abertarff, the members of that court recorded at their first meeting that "Mr Robert Cumming, being of the Episcopal persuasion, it is not expected he should attend our meetings."[1] This consideration and want of bigotry led him to co-operate to some extent with them. In March, 1725, Mr Thomas Fraser, minister of Boleskine, "informed the Presbytery that he was desired by Master Robert Cumming, Episcopal Incumbent at Urquhart, to acquaint this Presbytery that great encroachments were made by trafficking

[1] Abertarff Presbytery Records—Meeting of 8th July, 1724.

Priests and Popish Emissaries upon that Corner of the Parish called Glenmoriston; that there were a great number of Tre-lapses and Quadra-lapses in the sin of uncleanness in that part—also that Adulteries, Incests, Notorious Profanation of the Lord's Day, and Contempt of the Ordinances were frequent in the said Parish; and Likewise to crave in the name of the said Master Cumming the advice and concurrence of this Presbytery in matters of discipline." Mr Fraser was instructed to require Mr Cumming to summon the offenders to the next meeting of Presbytery, "and to come himself alongst, that the Presbytery may be more fully informed as to these delinquents, and then proceed as they shall see cause." Cumming did not appear at the next meeting, but he sent a letter concerning the scandals; and at the May meeting Fraser was appointed "to repair to the said parish, and, the said Master Cumming being present for his information, to hold a session, and summon delinquents before the same, and to appoint them respectively to undergo a course of discipline according to the rules and practice of this Church." On 18th August Fraser gave in a report on the condition of the Parish, which had a stirring effect upon the brethren. Mr Alexander Macbean, one of the missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, was instructed "to spend the remaining six weeks of his mission in Glenmoriston and Urquhart—four weeks thereof in Glenmoriston, and two in Urquhart;" Mr Skeldoch, minister of Kilmonivaig, and Mr Chapman, missionary, were appointed to preach on the following Sunday at

Duldreggan, and Mr Macbean, and Mr Gilchrist, minister of Kilmallie, at Invermoriston on the same day; and the Presbytery resolved to meet at Bunloit on the 23rd. Mr Cumming appeared at the Bunloit meeting, but of the delinquents only one showed face, and the Court, finding "the design of their meeting in this place was disappointed . . . enjoined Master Robert Cumine to use all diligence in enquiring into the several gross scandals that are in this Parish," and to summon the offenders to appear before the next meeting of Presbytery. Moreover, "the Moderator, in consequence of a previous concert with the members of Presbytery, did expostulate with Master Robert Cumine anent his preaching so seldom at Glenmoriston, and did enjoin him greater diligence in that and in all the other parts of his ministerial work, and that he would receive and observe the instructions that should be sent him from time to time by the Presbytery."

This obvious attempt to get the sturdy Episcopalian to acknowledge the Presbytery's jurisdiction was not successful. At the next meeting (6th October) the names of the Urquhart and Glenmoriston delinquents were called, but none responded—and there was no report or explanation from their pastor. The Moderator was instructed to write to him expressing dissatisfaction with his conduct, and requiring him "peremptorily to cause summon them [the delinquents] to the next meeting of Presbytery, and to send a report of his diligence in enquiring

into the said scandals to said meeting." Cumming neither summoned nor reported, but in May, 1726, he addressed a letter to the Presbytery, suggesting that they should meet in Glenmoriston, "in order to curb vice and immoralitie so much abounding in that corner." They gladly accepted the invitation, and instructed the Moderator to "signify to him that it is verie agreeable to them how carefull he is to have vice and immoralitie curbed in his charge." The Glenmoriston meeting was held on 5th and 6th October. It dealt with the delinquents whom Cumming desired to curb, and, more important still, it arranged for the erection of the first school opened in the Parish. For the first time since the Revolution the old incumbent is described as "Minister." He, however, still refrained from attending the meetings of the Presbytery, and remained, in principle, an Episcopalian. He died in 1730—the last survivor, perhaps, of that steadfast band of Highland Prelatists who continued to hold their livings after the disestablishment of their Church. On 8th April of that year his death was intimated to the Presbytery, and on the 26th Mr Thomas Montfod, a missionary within the bounds, preached at Kilmore, and declared the church vacant.[1]

[1] The Rev. Robert Cumming's Last Will and Testament (signed at Kilmore on 23rd March, 1730, in presence of John Grant, Chamberlain of Urquhart, Alexander Grant of Shewglie, and Ludovick Grant in Drumnadrochit) was recorded in the Inverness Commissary Books on 15th December, 1730, by his widow and executrix, Isobell Chisholm. The will commences in the following appropriate terms:—"I, Mr Robert Cuming, Minister of Urquhart, being for the time sick in body, and yet (praised be God) sound in judgment

Cumming's successor was the Reverend William Gordon, or rather Macgregor, who was presented by the Laird of Grant as patron,[1] and ordained and admitted on 24th December. He found that he could not without assistance serve the cure as it ought to be served, and he induced the Presbytery in 1731 to appoint Mr Montfod, "Missionary Preacher" in Glenmoriston. He was translated to Alvie in 1739,[2] and Mr John Grant, a native of Strathspey, became minister of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. His presentation was laid before the Presbytery in January, 1740, and, after the usual

and memory, and considering the frailty of my life, that there is nothing more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than the time thereof, am therefore resolved so to order and dispose of my worldly affairs as (the samen being done) that I may thereafter be fitting and preparing myself for my last change, hoping to partake of the blessed Life in Immortality purchased by the Death and Passion of my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And in consequence of my said resolution I nominate, constitute, and appoint Isobell Chisolm, my well beloved Spouse, my sole Executrix," &c. He leaves his whole estate to his widow, with the exception of his books, which he bequeaths to his grandchild, Alexander Fraser, son of his daughter, Isobell Cumming, and her husband, Hugh Fraser in Bruiach. Isobell Chisholm was Cumming's second wife—his first having been Helen Kinnaird.

[1] This appears to have been the first exercise by the Lairds of Grant of the right of patronage of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. In Roman Catholic times the right belonged to the Chancellor of Moray. In 1593 it was conferred by James the Sixth on Alexander, Lord Spynie, from whose son Sir John Grant purchased it in 1622. In Protestant Episcopalian times it was exercised by the minister of Inveravon as Chancellor of Moray. Patronage was abolished in 1690, but restored in 1711. It was finally abolished in 1874.

[2] Mr Gordon and "some of the gentlemen in the Parish of Urquhart," provided 250 merks for the benefit of the poor in the Parish, "reserving to them and their heirs, during vacancies, the distribution of the interest thereof among the poor."—(Abertarff Presbytery Records, 19th March, 1740).

trials, he was ordained and admitted at Kilmore on 17th January, 1741. It has already been told how he espoused the cause of Prince Charles in The Forty-Five, was seized by Ludovick Grant, and imprisoned for a time in Tilbury Fort. With that exception his long career was uneventful. His death took place at Inverness in 1792—his nephew, Mr James Grant, having been assistant and successor to him since 1777. He was of a warm-hearted and kindly disposition, and a story is still told which well illustrates the simplicity of his habits. On one occasion, entering the humble dwelling of John Cameron, Bail-an-t-Strathain, or Coilty-side, he found the poor old man broiling a sheep's liver on a pair of tongs, which were half-buried in the white ashes of a peat fire. The minister sat with Cameron until the latter had finished his cooking and his repast, and then left. Some time afterwards the old man begged him for a little meal, as his barrel was empty. "Gu dearbh cha'n fhaigh," was the reply, "cha bu mhath an t-òlach thu fhein le do ghrùthan!" —"Indeed you will not get that; you yourself were not so liberal with your liver!" By his will he bequeathed the sum of £700 for the support of a student of divinity, and one of philosophy, at Aberdeen University. The bequest was disputed; but in 1795 his successor, Mr James Grant, compromised the matter by making a payment of £200 to the University for the maintenance of a bursar in philosophy or divinity, either of the name of Grant, or descended

from Captain Thomas Fraser of Newton, commonly called Dunballoch.[1]

The Reverend James Grant survived his uncle but a few years. He died at Elgin in October, 1798; and in January following Mr James Fowler, missionary in Abertarff and Glenmoriston, was presented to the Parish by Sir James Grant, and admitted at Kilmore on 26th March. By this time the "Men" had appeared in Urquhart, and the people had begun to have views of their own in matters of religion. The more earnest among them disapproved of the settlement. Active opposition was anticipated, and on the day of his induction the presentee appeared with a bodyguard of Glenmoriston men. To do battle with these the women of the congregation prepared themselves by filling their aprons with stones. Fortunately, the threatened conflict was avoided; but the minister failed to conciliate his opponents, and many of the people deserted the church, and betook themselves to the meetings of the eloquent Duncan Macdonald of Bunloit, better known in after life as Donnchadh Bhuntait—Duncan of Buntait. Duncan's success as an exponent of the Gospel, and his fame as a man of prayer, annoyed the factor, Duncan Grant,

[1] Mr John Grant's wife was of the Dunballoch family. A tablet to her memory still stands in the ruined walls of the old church of Kilmore, bearing the following inscription:—"Erected by the Reverend Mr John Grant, Minr. of Urquhart, in memory of Æmilia Fraser, his beloved wife. She died 11th Feb. 1759, aged 44 years. A pattern of Virtue, Remarkable for Hospitality and Charity, Respected and Lamented by all her Acquaintances. Time, how short! Eternity, how long!"

Dulshangie, the minister's brother-in-law, whom he also greatly offended by going out of his way to advise the young men not to join the Urquhart Volunteers, in which Dulshangie was an enthusiastic lieutenant, and of which his father-in-law, Alpin Grant, Borlum, was captain. His removal was therefore resolved on, and he had to seek a home on The Chisholm's lands of Buntait. The change brought no good to the brothers-in-law. The Devil, with that ingratitude which has always characterised him in the folk-lore of the Highlands, conspired with the equally ungrateful witches of Urquhart to destroy the factor. As the doomed man was returning one night from Inverness, in company with the Black Campbell of Borlum-mor, he was met by the Fiend in the wood of Abriachan, and so beaten and pounded that he went home to die. The witches' share in his destruction was less violent. They quietly placed his clay figure, stuck with pins, in a stream, and, as the image wore away through the action of the water, so the body which it represented painfully wasted towards death. These events occurred in 1803, and so deep was the impression which they made on the people, that many who had hitherto adhered to Mr Fowler now forsook him; and for years there was not an elder in the Parish. Things began to look better in 1811, when four elders — John Macdonald, schoolmaster, Bunloit; William Mackenzie, Lewistown; Donald Macmillan, Grotaig (Domhnul Mac Uilleim); and Duncan Macmillan, Oldtown of Shewglie, latterly of Balnalick (an

t-Eilldear Ruadh)—were ordained. The minister's days were, however, numbered, and he departed this life in May, 1814.

His successor, the Reverend James Doune Smith, was admitted at Kilmore on 20th April, 1815. He was a man of kindliness and culture, but of uncertain moral character. Charge of adultery followed charge, with the result that he was deserted by his congregation even before the Disruption of 1843. On 3rd May, 1842, Alexander Fraser, Garabeg, appeared before the Presbytery of Abertarff, at Invergarry, and presented a petition signed by 248 heads of families in Glen-Urquhart, "setting forth that there was no acting Kirk Session, and praying for a visitation of the Presbytery to the Parish to remedy matters." The Presbytery, which had for years evinced an anxious desire to get at the truth or untruth of the charges, responded by appointing a meeting to be held at Drumnadrochit on 5th July, to which they cited Mr Smith and the witnesses who were prepared to give evidence against him. The meeting took place, but its deliberations were interrupted by a messenger-at-arms, who entered and served a "Note of Suspension and Interdict the Reverend J. Doune Smith against the Presbytery of Abertarff." The brethren, unaccustomed to such interference, and uncertain as to their proper course, adjourned for a day. When they again met they resolved to report the circumstances to the General Assembly, "as the Note of Suspension and Interdict at the instance of Mr

Smith included the Presbytery, their Agent, the Witnesses of the Prosecution, and the Ministers associated with the Presbytery, . . . and they could not satisfy the ends of justice in the circumstances.'' In their indignation they placed it on record that they '' disclaim the right of interference of the Court of Session in this and all other questions of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,'' and cited Mr Smith to appear before the ensuing meeting of the Commission of the Assembly. And then appeared Alexander Chisholm, Boglashin, with '' more than twenty '' others, and presented a petition from certain of the inhabitants, '' setting forth that they were conscientiously restrained from attending the ministrations of Mr Smith, and praying that some provision should be made for the dispensation of religious ordinances in the Parish.'' On enquiry the Presbytery ascertained '' that the attendance at the church for some time past had been very small, and that there was a number of children still unbaptised.'' Mr Smith thereupon stated '' that for the period prior to the meeting of the Commission he intended that the religious ordinances should be administered in a manner satisfactory to all parties, and that for this purpose he intended to invite a number of clergymen, and that the Moderator, or Mr Fraser, Kirkhill, was to baptise the children.'' Of this arrangement the Presbytery approved; but the interference of the Court of Session with the Scottish ecclesiastical courts was followed by more disastrous consequences than the interruption of the course of justice at Drumnadrochit: it rent in twain the old

Church of Scotland. At the Disruption Mr Smith's parishioners joined the Free Church with scarce an exception, and henceforth till his death in 1847 he preached to empty benches in the pretty new church which the heritors had but recently erected for him—

Suidheachanan falamh,
Agus ballachan bàna;
An clag a' buaileadh,
'S cha'n eil an sluagh 'tighinn![1]

Unfortunate though the people of Urquhart were in their clergy for many years, their corner of the Vineyard was not allowed to lie wholly waste. The very weakness and apathy of their ministers helped to raise up from among themselves labourers of wonderful fervour and power. The Men—na Daoine—are a comparatively modern institution. They appear in Sutherland and Easter Ross about the

[1] Lines of the Disruption time, which may be translated:—"The pews are empty, and the walls are white; the bell tolls, but the people do not come." The ministers of the Parish since the Disruption have been—Rev. Donald M'Connachie, from 1848 to 1864; Rev. John Cameron, 1865 to 1879; and the present minister [1893], the Rev. J. P. Campbell, admitted in 1880. The Rev. Archibald Macneill is the first minister of the *quoad sacra* Parish of Glenmoriston, erected in 1891. The Free Church ministers of the Parish have been—In Glen-Urquhart, the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, from 1844 to 1864; the Rev. Angus Macrae, from 1866 to 1892; and the Rev. Alexander Mackay, admitted in 1892: in Glenmoriston, the Rev. Francis Macbean, from 1844 to 1869; the Rev. Alexander Maccoll, from 1870 to 1877; the Rev. Donald Macinnes, from 1879 to 1889; and the present minister, the Rev. William Mackinnon, inducted in 1891. Mr Macbean and Mr Maccoll had also the Free Church charge at Fort-Augustus, where they resided. The priest of Stratherrick or of Fort-Augustus officiates at intervals in the Roman Catholic Chapel, Glenmoriston; and St Ninian's Episcopal Church, Glen-Urquhart (founded by Mr A. H. F. Cameron of Lakefield), is open during summer and autumn.

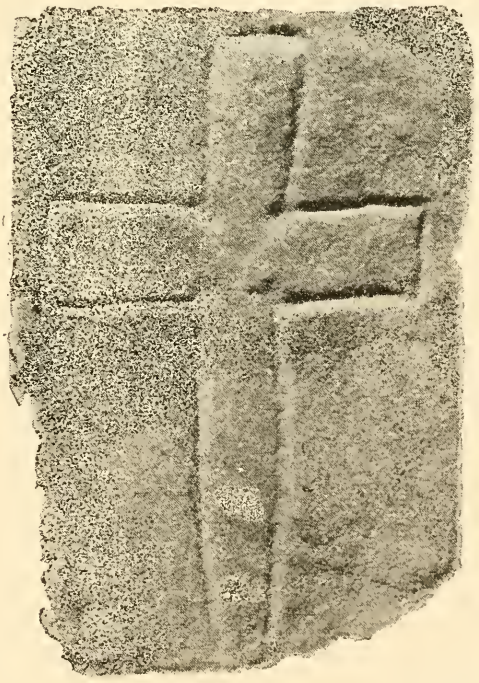
beginning of the eighteenth century, but there were none in our Parish before Culloden. Urquhart owes much to these men of piety and devotion, who—frequently while their pastors slumbered and slept—laboured for the welfare of their fellows with an earnestness and an eloquence that penetrated into the very soul. Their unbounded influence has not yet exhausted itself, and the people of Urquhart still cherish the memories of such saints as Duncan of Buntait, and Donald Macmillan of Grotaig, who helped to keep the lamp of the Gospel burning during the dark years that closed the eighteenth century and opened the nineteenth; and John Macdonald, the schoolmaster and catechist of Bunloit, and Duncan of Buntait's son, Alexander, who both bore the burden of the day during the evil times that culminated, much against their wish, in the Disruption of the Church.[1]

The district of Glenmoriston, which had its chapels and its clergy during the periods of the Celtic and Roman Catholic Churches, was in a state of ecclesiastical desolation for many years after the Reformation. It had no clergyman of its own, and the parish minister only paid it an occasional visit. The first attempt at improvement was made in 1676, when Mr Robert Monro was appointed minister in

1 Among other Men who flourished in Glen-Urquhart during the nineteenth century, and whose names deserve to be remembered, were William Mackenzie, Lewistown; Duncan Macmillan, Balnalick; John Cumming, Milton; Kenneth Macdonald, Meiklie-na-h-Aitnich, and his sons, John Macdonald, Milton, and Alexander Macdonald, Craigmore; Neil Maclean, schoolmaster, Bunloit; William Fraser, Lewistown; Alexander Grant, Inchvalgar; Alexander Chisholm, Boglashin; John Fraser, Garabeg; Alexander Macmillan, Achnababan; Alexander Fraser, Marchfield; and John Maclennan, Milton.

Glenmoriston and Abertarff. He died about 1698, and thereafter no special effort appears to have been made to supply the spiritual wants of the district, until 1725, when Alexander Macbean, a missionary employed by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, preached there for four weeks. Next year Thomas Montfod was appointed catechist in Glenmoriston and Abertarff. On the Reverend William Gordon's admission to our Parish he pleaded "for a missionary Preacher to the United Parishes of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, there being four stated places of worship in that Parish, besides that the country of Glenmoriston lies at a considerable distance from the minister's place of residence, and mostly inaccessible to him during the winter season." The result was that Montfod, who had meanwhile been ordained a minister, was promoted to be missionary preacher, and paid by the Royal Bounty Committee. He soon gave up the appointment to become minister of Kilmallie; but since his time Glenmoriston has been pretty regularly supplied at the expense of the Committee. Until 1811 the missionary preacher resided at Fort-Augustus, and had Abertarff and Glenmoriston under his charge. In that year the Committee agreed to establish a separate mission in Glenmoriston, and to pay the missionary a salary of £60 a year, the proprietor furnishing him with a place of meeting and a dwelling-house and other allowances. That arrangement continued without much change till 1891, when Glenmoriston was erected into a parish *quoad sacra*, and a new church erected and endowed.

Only a hurried glance can be taken at the manners and customs of our forefathers in matters of religion. The churches and chapels in which they worshipped have already been referred to. Small buildings these were to begin with—constructed of timber or wattles, or, during the latter part of the Celtic Church period, of dry stone. Better edifices were raised in Roman Catholic times, and on the eve of the Reformation the Parish Church and St Ninian's Chapel (The Temple) were substantial buildings, with belfries



STONE FROM RUINS OF THE TEMPLE—NOW IN WALL OF CORRIMONY HOUSE.

and suspended bells. The other chapels had hand bells of the old Celtic square type, which served to call the people to prayer, and which were carried at funerals by the bellman, who walked in front of the coffin, ringing as he went. The Parish church, which was rebuilt in 1630, was the burial place of the more considerable families till the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was so overcrowded with the dead that their relics frequently protruded through the earthen floor, to be fought over by the dogs that accompanied the worshipping people. For the malignant fevers that from time to time ravaged our Glens in the Olden Times, the human remains within the church were perhaps not less responsible than the insanitary state of the dwelling-houses.[1]

It is difficult to say what exactly was the manner of worship of our fathers during the early Christian ages. In the Celtic Church there was probably

1 The parish church at Kilmore was thatched with heather till about the middle of the eighteenth century, when it was roofed with native slate. In 1642 the Synod ordered the Presbytery to "have a special caire" that the church should be outwardly repaired, and provided with "inward plenishing." Next year it was reported that the work "is already begun and going on." The "inward plenishing" consisted of a pulpit, communion table and forms, and a stool of repentance. For years after 1642 there were no seats or pews for the use of the people. During divine service they stood, or moved about —the aged and infirm, however, providing themselves with small stools. When pews became common, it was found necessary to appoint an officer whose duty it was to go about with a long rod, poking slumberers into wakefulness and attention to the sermon. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, and early part of the eighteenth, the people smoked in church—a habit which at an earlier period was common in England and the South of Scotland. In time smoking gave place to snuffing; and the snuff-box has not yet ceased to go its round in the churches of our Parish.

little preaching, in the modern sense of the word—only a simple delivery of the message of salvation by the clerics who served in the chapels. They were eminently men of prayer, who were also much given to the singing of Latin psalms and Gaelic hymns. The chapels were resorted to by the people, not only on the Sabbath, but also, for private devotion, on the other days of the week—a custom which continued down through the Roman Catholic and early Protestant periods, and which the Reformed Clergy had much difficulty in suppressing, as superstition, as late as the close of the seventeenth century. They were also *comraich*, or sanctuaries, for such as sought shelter from the vengeance of their fellow men.

During the Roman Catholic period the services of the Church were mainly liturgical, and conducted chiefly in Latin. Relics of saints were carefully preserved. The crucifix of St Drostan was enshrined within the Temple, or St Ninian's Chapel, and was under the care of a *deoir*, or keeper, whose office was probably hereditary, and who had the free possession of Croit-an-Deoir (the Deoir or Dewar's Croft) for his services.[1] At Kil Michael, the Archangel's Bell, which rang of its own accord at the approach of a funeral, was the object of great veneration, as was Merchard's bell in Glenmoriston, which also rang without human intervention when the dead passed, and possessed other wonderful qualities already referred to. The smaller chapels probably possessed

1 See footnote, p. 337, *supra*.

relics of the saints to whom they were dedicated. Each saint commemorated by a dedication in the Parish had his annual festival day; the general feasts of the Church were also observed; and thus a great portion of the year consisted of holidays —holy days, which, originally intended for holy joy and religious exercise, came in time to be almost exclusively devoted to worldly pleasure and sport. The Reformed clergy strenuously set themselves to suppress these festivals, but generations passed ere their efforts resulted in their entire neglect.

The Reformation of the Church brought great changes in the form and manner of public worship. The ritual of Rome gave place to John Knox's Liturgy, a Gaelic translation of which—by Bishop Carswell of the Isles—was printed in 1567 for the use of the Protestants of the Highlands. Preaching found a more prominent place in the new service, and much importance was attached to the reading and expounding of the Scriptures. The Church ordained "that every Kirk have a Bible in English, and that the people be commanded to convene and hear the plain reading and interpretation of the Scripture, as the Kirk shall appoint." There was no provision for having the Bible in Gaelic, and for almost a century and a half after the Reformation the Highland clergy and readers were under the necessity of translating the English Bible into Gaelic as they read. In 1690 and subsequent years Bibles in Irish Gaelic were distributed in the Highlands; the New Testament appeared for the first time in Scottish Gaelic in 1767, and the Old Testament, in parts,

between 1783 and 1801. Some of the Psalms were printed in Gaelic metre in 1659, and the remainder in 1694; and since the latter year various versions have been published. The plaintive and beautiful "Gaelic tunes" to which they are sung in Urquhart and other districts, are supposed to have been brought from the Continent by the Highlanders who fought under Gustavus Adolphus. More probably they are ancient chants which have come down to us from the ages that preceded the Reformation;[1] and the peculiar and not unpleasant *intoning* in which the old-fashioned Highland clergyman still loves to indulge, is an echo of the church service of the same pre-Reformation period.

The use of Knox's Liturgy was discontinued about the middle of the seventeenth century by both Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The changes in the established form of church government—from Presbytery to Episcopacy, and from Episcopacy to Presbytery—brought no changes in the form of public worship, with the exception that after 1649,

1 When the "precentors" of the past taught these tunes to the young, they, with the object of avoiding what they considered an irreverent use of the Psalms, sang them to rhymes of their own making. The following was popular at Gaelic singing-classes in Glen-Urquhart within the last hundred years:—

Buntata pronn is bainne leo
An comhnaidh dha mo bhroinn;
Nam faighinn-sa na dh' ithinn diu
Gum bithinn sona chaoidh!

Words which may be rendered:—

With mashed potatoes and good milk
May I be filled for aye;
With them me feed; then shall I joy
Until my dying day!

the Episcopalians were more "mindful" than the Presbyterians of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology. The former did not resume the use of a liturgy until after the Revolution; and it is doubtful whether Mr Robert Cumming, who was Episcopal minister of our Parish at that event, and until his death in 1730, ever used a prayer book.

The religion of the old Highlander lay lightly on his shoulders, and, like his brother Celt in Ireland, he freely mixed his business and amusements with it. His Sabbath—which till the eleventh century he observed on Saturday and not on the Lord's Day [1]—was not entirely a day of rest. He attended church or chapel in the morning with more or less regularity; but the remainder of the day was given up to pleasures, sports, and his worldly avocations. On that day, as the church records show, he, for generations after the Reformation, drove his cattle to market, brought home his fuel, baked his bread, fished, played shinty, and put the stone. On that day, too, he married, christened, and buried. The Sunday christenings and penny-weddings were made the occasions of such boisterous mirth that during the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth, numerous warnings appear on the pages of the Presbytery books against piping, fiddling, and

1 Bishop Carswell, as late as 1567, wrote—"A se an seachtmhadh la Sabboid no Sathurn an Tighearna do Dhia"—"The seventh day is the Sabbath or Saturday of the Lord thy God."—(Gaelic Transl. of Knox' Prayer Book). Even at the present time Saturday is sometimes called in our Parish "An t-Sàbaid Bheag"—the Little Sabbath; and it is accorded a degree of respect and "sacredness" which is denied to the other "week-days."

dancing at them. The lykewakes were even more uproarious, the chamber of death being filled night after night with jest, song, and tale, the music of the violin and the pipe, and the shout and clatter of the Highland reel. Everywhere the native buoyancy of the Celt asserted itself—in season and out of season. A change was, however, to come over his spirit. Puritanism, which was introduced into Scotland by the English sectaries of the Commonwealth, took deep root after the Restoration among the persecuted Covenanters of the Lowlands. It did not reach the people of Urquhart till old barriers were removed by the events of the Forty-five; but, if it was late in coming, its progress among them was amazingly rapid, and before the end of the century it held them in its coils with a tightness which has not yet appreciably relaxed. To it we owe our rigid sabbatarianism, the sacramental preaching week, our crowded communions, and long communion services.[1] It has

1 "To ingratiate themselves with Cromwell," says Principal Lee in Hist. of Church of Scotland, "the Protesters declined praying for the King, and framed their churches after the model of the Sectarians. They introduced a mode of celebrating the divine ordinances which till that time had been unknown in Scotland, and which came afterwards to be generally practised by those whose meetings were interdicted by the severe enactments of the Government after the King's restoration. They preached and prayed at much greater length and with much greater fervour than their brethren. At the administration of the communion they collected a great number of ministers, and performed Divine service two or three successive days before, and one at least after the solemnity." The "Question Day" (Friday) of the communion week is of Highland origin having grown out of the institution of the Men. Knox approved of the monthly celebration of communion; but before Culloden it was very seldom celebrated in the Highlands—some times not for years in Urquhart and other parishes.

done much for religion in the Highlands, but it has not been an unmixed blessing. It has to a great extent destroyed the songs and tales which were the wonderfully pure intellectual pastime of our fathers; it has suppressed innocent customs and recreations whose origin was to be found in remote antiquity; it has in many cases engrafted self-righteousness on the character of religious professors; and it has with its iron hand crushed merriment and good fellowship out of the souls of the people, and in their place planted an unhealthy gloominess and dread of the future entirely foreign to the nature of the Celt.[1]

[1] See Appendix N for the Stipend, &c., of the Minister at various periods.

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE PARISH

Education before the Reformation.—The Parochial System.—Unsuccessful attempts to plant Schools in the Parish.—The First School.—Charity Schools at Duldreggan, Milton, Pitkerrald, and Bunloit.—The First Parish School.—Subsequent Agencies.—The Education Act.—Old Salaries.—Old School Books.—Gaelic in Schools.—Old Punishments.—Cock-fighting and other Sports.—Urquhart Authors.—James Grant of Corrimony.—Charles Grant.—Lord Glenelg.—Sir Robert Grant.—James Grant.—John Macmillan.—Buchanan Macmillan, King's Printer.—Patrick Grant.—James Grassie.—Angus Macdonald.—William Grant Stewart.—William Somerled Macdonald.—James Grant, Balnaglaic.—Allan Sinclair.—The Bards of the Parish.—Iain Mac Eobhainn Bhain.—Ewen Macdonald.—Shewglie and his Daughter.—Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain.—Iain Mac Dhughaill.—John Grant.—Archibald Grant.—Angus Macculloch.—Lewis Cameron. — Angus Macdonald. — William Mackay.—Hugh Fraser.—Survival of Bardism.

The history of Education in Scotland may be said to form part of the history of the Church. Before the Reformation the country was wholly indebted to the clergy for the little learning it possessed; and after that event it was John Knox and the ministers of the Reformed Church who originated and developed the parish school system. To that system Scotland as a whole owes much; but its benefits were slow to reach the Highlands, and Knox was two hundred years in his grave before

Urquhart and Glenmoriston could boast of a parochial school.

During the period of the Celtic Church the clerics who officiated in the small cells which, as we have seen, were scattered over the Parish, doubtless devoted much of their time, as their brethren are known to have done elsewhere, to the copying of the Scriptures; and it is probable that they communicated some slight knowledge of letters to the more curious among their people. This knowledge was increased in Roman Catholic times by the priests of the Parish and the monks who studied and taught within the neighbouring Priory of Beauly. But in the ages that preceded the Reformation there was no education in the modern sense of the word, and very few even of the better classes could read or write. Knox's grand purpose was to establish at least one school in every parish throughout Scotland. His scheme was too ambitious for his time, but it was not lost sight of, and in 1616—long after his death—it was adopted by the Privy Council, which ordained that a school should be erected in each parish, "that all his Majesty's subjects, especially the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godliness, knowledge, and learning; that the vulgar Inglishe tongue be universallie planted, and the Irish [that is, the Gaelic] language, which is one of the chieff and principall causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivilitie among the inhabitants of the Isles and Heylandis, may be abolishit and removit." The resolution that a school should be established in each parish was confirmed by Parlia-

ment in 1631, and again in 1646; but generations passed before effect was given to it in Urquhart and Glenmoriston. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Inverness held in the Parish in 1627, "it was found requisit that ane scholemaister suld be planted thair, for educatioun of the youth within these bounds, in respect the parochiners thair wer found willing to do dewtie heirin ghaidlie."[1] This was reported to the Synod of Moray in October, when Mr Alexander Grant, the minister, stated "that he, with his parochiners, hed bein cairfullie searching efter ane [schoolmaster] to supplie that roume [that is, Urquhart and Glenmoriston], bot as yit culd find nain;" and the Presbytery was ordained "to enquyr for ane maister of schole, and to settle him thair with diligence."[2] But if the enquiry was made, no result followed. Fifty years later—in 1677—the minister and elders reported to the Presbytery that there was no school in the Parish, "bot quhen the Laird of Grant cam to the countrey that they were to require his helpe and assistance how to get some victuall to mantean an schoolmaster." They were exhorted "to do the same, which should be good service done to God;"[3] but the exhortation was not responded to, and Urquhart and Glenmoriston remained without a parochial school until the year 1770.[4]

1 Records of the Synod of Moray. 2 Ibid.

3 Inverness Presbytery Records.

4 Other Highland parishes were even in a worse condition. Boleskine, Laggan, and Kilmonivaig, for example, had no parish schools for years after 1770. On the other hand there were schools in Kirkhill and Kiltarlity as early as 1671.

The youth of the Parish were, however, not wholly left in darkness. Sometimes the lairds, wadsetters, and larger tenants combined to employ some struggling student to teach their children during the college recess; sometimes they sent their boys to be taught at Inverness, Fortrose, or Petty; and the result was that during the darkest years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a few were to be found in the Parish who could read and write and express themselves in fair English. Even the humbler occupiers of the soil began to commit their transactions to writing; and we find, as early as 1616, the tenant of Raddich and Borlum signing his patronymic—for he had not yet adopted a surname—in a beautiful round hand, "Donald McHomas," Donald, son of Thomas.[1]

It was, however, left to the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge to bring the means of education within the reach of the people generally. In 1701 a few private gentlemen met in Edinburgh, and resolved to establish schools in the Highlands and Islands, and to appeal to the public for pecuniary support. They opened their first school at Abertarff; but in less than two years the people drove the schoolmaster from the district. The Edinburgh philanthropists were not discouraged. In 1707 they induced the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to appoint a committee to consider the question of the propagation of Christian Knowledge in the Highlands

[1] Renunciation of Lease, at Castle Grant.

and Islands. The incorporation of the Society followed in 1709. Next year its members resolved to open free schools—or "charity schools," as they were called—in such districts as from time to time should most require them. In 1711 a school was established at Abertarff, to which Glenmoriston lads probably found their way; and in 1726 the first school in our Parish was opened. On the 14th day of April of that year, certain gentlemen of Glen-Urquhart appeared before the Presbytery of Abertarff, within whose bounds the Parish then was, and represented "that they greatly stand in need of a Charity School in the Breas of that countrie, on account of the Ignorance of the people, Popish priests takeing occasion to encroach upon that corner, as it is remote, and discontiguous from the Strath of the Parish."[1] The Presbytery considered the proposal "just and reasonable," and appointed the Rev. Alexander Macbean of Inverness to apply to the Society for an allowance for a schoolmaster. The application was granted in June, and in October a school was opened at Meiklie, and placed under the charge of Henry Urquhart, a learned shoemaker, who had been duly examined by the Presbytery and found qualified.

This arrangement did not long continue. In October, 1728, the Presbytery, "considering the state of Glenmoristone for want of a school, and that there appears a greater probability for procuring a Parochial School at Urquhart than at Glen-

1 Abertarff Presbytery Records.

moristone, have resolved that against summer next the School at Urquhart shall be transported to Glenmoristone as soon as the Presbytery are informed that a schoolhouse and other conveniences are prepared at Dulldregan in that countrey for him [the teacher]." This resolution was the outcome of an application which the inhabitants of Glenmoriston had made to the Presbytery as early as October, 1726. The modest "conveniences" considered necessary were soon provided; the Meiklie establishment was closed; and Henry Urquhart removed to Duldreggan, where he laboured for several years. And from his time until the Education Act came into operation in 1873, the Society was not without a school in Glenmoriston, except for an interval of eight years immediately after the Rising of The Forty-Five.

To Glen-Urquhart the Society was equally generous. When the Presbytery resolved to send Henry Urquhart to Glenmoriston, they instructed the Rev. Alexander Macbean "to write to the Laird of Grant in order to obtain a Parochial School at Urquhart." Nothing came of the application, and the Society had again to take the place of the heritors. In 1732 a charity school was opened at Milton, and placed under the charge of William Grant, who taught in it for many years. At a later period the school was "transported" to Pitkerrald. "There is no parish schoolmaster," said Mr William Lorimer in a Report on Urquhart which he wrote for the Laird of Grant in 1763; "the tenants send their children to the charity

schoolmaster, who lives at Pitkerrald, who teaches them to read and write. . . Alexander Macrae, a Kintail man, . . teaches reading, writing, and arithmetic, and singing psalms—exacts no school-ages [fees].'"[1]

The failure of the heritors to provide the means of education which the law required of them led the Society, in 1770, to threaten to withdraw their charity teacher unless a parochial schoolmaster was appointed. The threat had the desired effect. A parish school was at once opened, and in 1775 the Society's establishment was transferred to Bunloit, where it continued to flourish until 1873. To the Bunloit schoolmaster Sir James Grant gave a dwelling-house and two acres of land free of rent.[2]

The three schools which our Parish now possessed were soon found insufficient to meet its educational wants, and side-schools were, about the end of the century, erected in Glenmoriston and the Braes of Urquhart. Other agencies subsequently arose. The Gaelic School Society had a school at Meiklie in 1815 and 1816; and after the Disruption, Free Church schools did good work for years at Drumnadrochit and Polmaily, while Caroline, Countess of Seafield, maintained a school at Blairbeg, and Mr Thomas Ogilvy of Corrimony another on his estate. The Education Act put an end to the Parochial System, and—so far as our Parish was concerned—to the other agencies which it found at work. The first

1 Report, at Castle Grant. 2 Report of the Society, in 1790.

School Board[1] set itself with vigour to provide the school accommodation required under the new order of things; and within a few years commodious school buildings were erected throughout the Parish, which strongly contrast with the poor, comfortless, dry-stone, turf-roofed hovels in which the teachers of the past laboured with no small measure of success for a salary then, no doubt, regarded as sufficient, but which would be looked upon in the present age as miserable in the extreme.[2]

The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, having in view that "religion and industry go always hand in hand," obtained new letters patent in 1738, empowering them to "cause such children as they shall think fit to be instructed and bred up in husbandry and housewifery, or trade and manufacture, as they should think proper, at such places and in such manner as to them and their directors shall seem the most practicable and expedient." As thus authorised, the Society not only settled a gardener and blacksmith in Glen-

1 The members of the first School Board were nominated at a public meeting, and unanimously elected without ballot. They were, in alphabetical order—Rev. John Cameron, minister of the parish; Major William Grant, factor of Urquhart; Rev. Alexander MacColl, Free Church minister of Fort-Augustus and Glenmoriston; William Mackay, Blairbeg; Rev. Angus Macrae, Free Church, Glen-Urquhart; Thomas Ogilvy of Corrimony; and John Sinclair, Borlum, factor for Glenmoriston.

2 The amount expended on the schools (including teachers' houses) were :—Culanloan, £3834 19s 1d; Balnain, £1595 0s 2d; Bunloit, £1463 2s 6d; Dulchreichart, £1393 12s 0d; Invermoriston, £1388 1s 6d; and Corrimony, £862 9s 9d—total, £10,537 5s 0d. The yearly salaries of the Society's teachers ranged from £8 to £14. When the first parochial school was established in the Parish in 1770, the schoolmaster's salary was fixed at £10 a year.

moriston in 1755, for the purpose of instructing the people in their trades, but they also, in subsequent years, employed the wives of their schoolmasters in the Parish to teach spinning, knitting, sewing, and other branches of female industry.[1] In 1802, moreover, they opened a "spinning school" at Lewistown, and placed it under the charge of Mrs Georgina Forbes, who continued for twenty-seven years to instruct the young girls of the district in these branches, and in religion. In Mrs Forbes' school a portion of the English Bible was read every day, and the pupils were required to learn at home, and repeat to her, passages of Scripture, and questions from the Shorter and Mother's Catechisms.[2]

For many years the progress of education in the Highlands was greatly impeded by the absurd manner in which the language of the people was treated. The excellent Lowlanders who directed the affairs of the Society in its early days dreaded Gaelic as they dreaded the Roman Catholic Church, with which they associated it; and the same regulation that bound their schoolmasters to subscribe the "Formula against Popery,"[3] bound them also to

1 Reports of the Society. 2 Ibid.

3 The Formula was in the following terms:—"I, ——, Schoolmaster in the Parish of ——, do sincerely from my heart profess and declare before God, who searcheth the heart, that I deny, disown, and abhor these tenets and doctrines of the Papal Romish Church, viz., the Supremacy of the Pope and Bishops of Rome over all pastors of the Catholick Church; his power and authority over Kings, Princes, and States, and the infallibility that he pretends to, either without or with a General Council; his power of dispensing and pardoning; the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Corporal Presence, with the Communion without the cup in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; the adoration and sacrifice practised by the Popish Church

"discharge [prohibit] their scholars to speak Earse [Irish or Gaelic]." The result was that while the great majority of the children, who knew no language but Gaelic, learned mechanically to read the Proverbs, Confession of Faith, Shorter Catechism, Vincent's Catechism, Protestant Resolutions, Pool's Dialogue, and Guthrie's Trials, which were their not too attractive school-books, they utterly failed to understand what they read; and that when they left school they left their books and their "learning" behind them. The directors of the Society at last realised the error of their ways; and in 1767 they printed a Gaelic translation of the New Testament, which was used in their schools. Translations of other works followed, and in 1781 the directors were able to report "that their translations have been of the greatest utility, not only in opening the minds of the people to knowledge, but in giving a greater desire to learn the English language than they had ever before discovered."[1] After this the teachers worked on a more rational system, and the ancient tongue was treated with some degree of respect. In the schools of the Gaelic School Society, which was founded in 1811,[2] Gaelic spelling-books

in the Mass; the invocation of Angels and Saints; the worshipping of Images, Crosses, and Relics; the doctrine of Supererogation, Indulgences, and Purgatory; and the Service and Worship in an unknown tongue: all which tenets and doctrines of the said Church I believe to be contrary to, and inconsistent with, the written word of God. And I do from my heart deny, disown, and disclaim the said doctrines and tenets of the Church of Rome, as in the presence of God, without any equivocation or mental reservation, but according to the known and plain meaning of the words as to me offered and proposed. So help me God."

1 Account of the Society, June, 1780, to June, 1781.

2 The Gaelic School Society was dissolved in 1892.

were used, and in 1817 similar books were issued to their schoolmasters by the older Society. The bad old system, however, long survived in the Parish School of Urquhart. Mr Daniel Kerr, a native of Perthshire, who presided over that institution during the closing years of the eighteenth century, and the first decade of the nineteenth, was an ardent believer in its merit. He made it his first duty, after the opening prayer, to hand to one of the boys a roughly carved piece of wood which was called "the tessera."[1] The boy transferred it to the first pupil who was heard speaking Gaelic. That offender got rid of it by delivering it to the next, who, in his turn, placed it in the hand of the next again. And so the tessera went round without ceasing. At the close of the day it was called for by Mr Kerr. The child who happened to possess it was severely flogged, and then told to hand it back to the one from whom he had received it. The latter was dealt with in the same manner; and so the dreaded tessera retraced its course, with dire consequences to all who had dared to express themselves in the only language which they knew. When the master wore his red night-cap in school, as he often did, it was observed that he was more merciless than at other times, and the children came to look upon the awful head-gear as a thing of strange and evil influence. It was long before they

1 *Tessera* (Latin), a square or quadrangular piece of wood or other substance. The old teachers made use of Latin words in an amusing manner. To this day an Urquhart boy who wants to dip his pen in his neighbour's ink-bottle says, "Thoir dhomh *guttum*" —"Give me a *guttum*"—from *gutta*, a drop.

discovered that the wearer's irritability on those occasions proceeded from a sore head brought on by the previous night's excessive conviviality. He never spared the rod; but it was not his only instrument of punishment. The Fool's-Cap was the terror of the children; yet they dreaded the Fox'-Skin and the Necklace-of-Old-Bones even more. Sometimes Kerr covered the offender's head with the cap, and his shoulders with an evil-smelling skin of a fox, and placed around his neck a string of bones. Thus adorned, the boy had to proceed into the open, and suffer the jeers of his companions and of passers-by; or he was made to stand in the centre of the schoolroom, while his fellows filed past and spat on him as they went!

But even in Kerr's time school life was not without its bright seasons and pleasant features. The boys delighted in their sports — the shinty matches between the Braes and the Strath being specially exciting. More interesting still, perhaps, was the annual cock-fight. On the occasion of that great event, it was the duty of every boy to bring a well-fed rooster to school. If he failed in this he was bound to pay the value of a bird to the schoolmaster. The schoolroom was for the time converted into a cock-pit; the fights took place in presence of the pupils and their parents—the minister, as a rule, gracing the meeting with his presence, and the schoolmaster being umpire and master of ceremonies. The victorious birds were restored to their proud owners—perhaps to fight another day. The dead

birds and the "fugies," or runaways, became the property of the master, whose modest stipend was thus in some small measure augmented.[1]

Notwithstanding the backward state of education in the past, our Parish can boast of not a few who have made some mark in the field of literature.

James Grant of Corrimony, Advocate, who was born in 1743 and died in 1835, and who enjoyed the friendship of such literary men as Henry Erskine, Henry Mackenzie, Sir James Mackintosh, and Lord Cockburn, was a scholar of singular erudition and attainments. His published works are, an account of our Parish, in Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account; "Essays on the Origin of Society, Language, Property, Government, Jurisdiction, Contracts, and Marriages, interspersed with Illustrations from the Gaelic and Greek Languages;" and "Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael, with an Account of the Picts, Caledonians, and Scots, and Observations relative to the Authorship of the Poems of Ossian."[2] The late well-known novelist, James Grant, was his grandson.

1 These reminiscences were communicated to the Author by old men who had in their boyhood attended Kerr's school.

2 James Grant's tombstone at Corrimony bears the following inscription by Lord Cockburn:—"Here lies what was mortal of James Grant, Esquire, the last of the Grants of Corrimony—Born 13th April, 1743, Died 12th September, 1835. Literary, amiable, and independent, he was one of the very few of his class who in his day promoted the principles of political liberty, which have since triumphed. He lived to be the oldest member of the Scottish Bar. He died, the last of a race that for more than 350 years inherited this Glen." Mr Grant left a large family, and was therefore not the last of his race. Corrimony was sold before his death.

Charles Grant, son of that Alexander Grant whose devotion to Prince Charles cost him the situation of forester in Glen-Urquhart,[1] was born in 1746. He received the rudiments of his education in the charity school of Milton, where his grandfather resided, and afterwards spent some time at a school in Elgin, with the aid of Shewglie's son Alexander, who escaped from Culloden and found his way to India. Entering the service of the East India Company, he rose to be Chairman of the Company. For many years he represented the county of Inverness in Parliament. He was the author of "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain," published in 1792, and again printed, by order of Parliament, in 1813. "I can sincerely say," observed Wilberforce of him after his death in 1823, "that he was one of the very best men I ever knew. And had he enjoyed in early youth the advantages of a first-rate education, he would have been as distinguished in literature as he was in business."[2] In 1696, his great-grandfather and grandfather could not write their names;[3] in 1801 his sons Charles (afterwards Lord Glenelg), and Robert (afterwards Sir Robert Grant), astonished the learned world by

1 See p. 250 *supra*.

2 Life of Wilberforce, chap. xxxvi. A fine portrait of Charles Grant, painted by Raeburn at the expense of the County of Inverness, is in the County Buildings.

3 Deed of 1696, at Erchless Castle, signed by a notary on their behalf.

the place which they took at Cambridge—Charles being third wrangler and first medallist, and Robert, fourth wrangler and second medallist. Charles' speeches and despatches made him famous. Robert published in 1813 a "Sketch of the History of the East India Company from its foundation to the passing of the Regulating Act, in 1773, with a Summary View of the Changes which have taken place since that period in the Internal Administration of British India;" and, in the same year, "The Expediency maintained of Continuing the System by which the Trade and Government of India are now Regulated." In 1839—after his death—were published his "Sacred Poems," edited by Lord Glenelg, some of which have attained great popularity in the Churches.[1]

James Grant, son of that James Grant, younger of Shewglie, who was imprisoned in Tilbury Fort in 1746, went to India early in life, and devoted much time to the study of the systems of revenue and land tenure of that country. Warren Hastings appointed him Resident at the Nizam's Court—an

1 Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg) was born in 1783, and died unmarried in 1866. He represented Inverness-shire from 1818 till he was raised to the peerage in 1836. During his long political career he filled the offices of Chief Secretary for Ireland, President of the Board of Trade, Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. Sir Robert Grant was for a time Judge Advocate-General. In 1834 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, an office which he held till his death in 1838. His son, Sir Charles Grant, was for a time Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

office which he resigned in 1783.[1] He wrote several treatises, for the information of the Government and the East India Company, on the subjects of revenue, agriculture, and land tenure, in Bengal. In 1788 the Company's Indian Board appointed him Chief Serrishtadar, and placed those subjects under his control. The appointment was approved of by the Court of Directors in London, who, on 20th August, wrote to their representatives in the East:—"If any new appointment was necessary, you could not have pitched upon a more capable servant than Mr James Grant, whose industry and peculiar talents for investigation had been so well demonstrated by the great mass of materials he had obtained, and ably digested in his several laborious productions concerning the history of our Possessions and Revenues." In 1790 he printed a disquisition on the nature of Zemindary tenures, and sent a copy of it to Pitt, along with a long letter on the same subject. On retiring from service he purchased the estate of Redcastle. He died in 1808.

1 The following letter was addressed to Grant on the occasion of his resignation:—

"Fort-William [Calcutta], 27th March, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—I am much concerned that the ill state of your Health obliges you to relinquish an Employment in which your Talents might have been so eminently useful to the Public.

"Wishing to know the Sentiments of Nizam Ally Khawn upon the Appointment of the Successor to you as the Resident at his Court, I have written the enclosed Letter, which I request you will be pleased to forward to him with as much Expedition as possible.

"I am, Dear Sir, with great esteem, your most obedt. humble Servant, "Warren Hastings."

In 1740, Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm married Elizabeth, daughter of Mackenzie of Applecross; and her half-sister, Christian — an illegitimate daughter of Applecross—accompanied her to Strathglass. Christian became the wife of Finlay Macmillan, the son of a crofter or small farmer in Buntait. Two sons of the marriage, JOHN and BUCHANAN, were educated with The Chisholm's children, and afterwards settled in London—John as a journalist, and Buchanan as a printer. The latter rose to be printer to George the Third and the Prince Regent, and books printed by him are frequently met with. He died at Belladrum in 1832, and his dust lies in the Newton burial-ground, within the Priory of Beauly.[1] The literary productions of John, who died young, cannot now be identified, and all that is known of them is contained in an extravagant epitaph on his tombstone at Kilmore—probably the work of his friend, the eccentric Dr Gilbert Stuart, the defender of Mary Queen of Scots:—"Under this Stone are Deposited the Remains of John McMillan, a Man whose Friendship and Benevolence Endeared his Name to all

[1] His tombstone bears the following inscription:—"Here are Deposited the Remains of Buchanan McMillan, Esq. Born in the Glen of Urquhart, in this County, he travelled from England that he might revive, or expire, in his native air, and died at Belladrum House on the 6th September, 1832, in his 74th year. As a husband, father, and friend, he was conspicuously good and zealous. His industry, fidelity, and punctuality raised him to affluence in his profession as a printer in London, where he long resided, beloved and respected for his hospitality and integrity. The graceful piety of his grand-daughter, Mary Christian Blagdon, has erected this stone to commemorate his virtues." A portrait of Macmillan, by Raeburn, presented by himself to his friend, Mr Fraser of Newton, is now in the possession of the Author.

who knew Him. Studious in the Attainment of Literary Pre-eminence, His Productions bear a lasting Monument of his Merits. His Wit was poignant without Invective. His Genius, copious without redundancy. His Essays are esteemed as Models of Ease, Elegance, Energy, and Humour. His Poetry is Affecting, Descriptive, and Sublime.

If e'er the Man of Genius tread this yard,
And feel the god-like phrenzy of the Bard,
Here let him pause and cast his wand'ring eyes
Where Wit extinct with JOHN MCMILLAN lies;
One who possessed all Virtues to admire,
The flame of Friendship, and the Attic fire;
Weary of Life, tho' young, he kissed the Sod,
Preserved his Fame with Man, his Soul with God.

He died the 11th Day of Feb. 1774, in the 25th year of his Age."[1]

1 The tombstone bears the following further inscription:—"Also [under this stone are deposited] the Remains of Christian McMillan, Mother of John McMillan, who departed this Life the 27th Day of March, 1781, in the 54th Year of her Age. To the affectionate Wife, the tender Mother, the pious Christian, and the friend of Distress, she un'ted every other Virtue that could adorn her Sex, and give a Hope of future Immortality. This Memento is laid down by an aged Husband and Father, as a last Tribute to the Memory of an affectionate Wife and a dutiful Son."

It is told of Finlay Macmillan, that after his marriage he was so destitute that his father had to give him more than one cow for food for himself and his young wife and family. There was, indeed, only one cow left, and with it the old man firmly refused to part. But as he lay in bed one night he heard a voice at the window:—"Gabh mar gheibh, is gheibh mar chaitheas—is thoir a bho ruadh do dh-Fhionnlaidh!"—"Take as you get, and you'll get as you'll spend—and give the red cow to Finlay!" "I will, I will!" replied the terrified old man; and next morning the red cow went the way of the others. Better days came upon Finlay, and his later years were passed in comfort through the filial generosity of his son Buchanan, whose name is commemorated in the Glen by Fuaran Channain—Buchanan's Well—near Corrimony Bridge.

Patrick Grant, of Lakefield (born 1795), who succeeded to Redcastle, and was married to a sister of Lord Glenelg, took a keen interest in journalism in the exciting days of Catholic Emancipation, and Reform. He was for a time principal proprietor of the famous *Sun*. He afterwards ceased his connection with that paper, and started the *True Sun*, which he managed so extravagantly that it involved him in financial difficulties, and he had to sell Redcastle. He died in 1855, and is buried under the beautiful family monument at Cnocan Burraidh, near Blairbeg.

James Grassie, son of Peter Grassie, Supervisor of Excise, Drumnadrochit, published in 1843 a volume of "Legends of the Highlands, from Oral Tradition." The scenes of his tales are chiefly laid in our Parish and neighbouring glens.

William Grant Stewart, factor of Urquhart, although not a native of our Parish, resided in it for many years, during which he published "Songs of Glen-Urquhart," "The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland," and "Lectures on the Mountains, or The Highlands and Highlanders, as they were and as they are." He died at Viewville, Drumnadrochit, in 1870. By his will he bequeathed the sum of £50 to the Urquhart Parish School, with directions that the annual interest should be applied in the purchase of prizes.[1]

1 By virtue of a Scheme of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission, dated 3rd December, 1886, Stewart's Bequest, and a bequest of £10 a year by the late Evan Cameron, are now amalgamated, and administered by the School Board.

Angus Macdonald, son of John Macdonald, the noted schoolmaster and catechist of Bunloit, published in 1836 *Searmona leis an Urram. Ralph Erscine*—a Gaelic translation of four sermons by Ralph Erskine—which attained considerable popularity; and, in 1869, a translation of a sermon by Spurgeon on the Head of the Church. He was a bard of great merit, his poem on the Highlanders in the Crimea, and his Lament for Lord Clyde, being especially powerful and felicitous. He was the first Bard of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and died in 1874, at the age of seventy.

William Somerled Macdonald, who was born at Meiklie-na-h-Aitnich about the year 1815, published a Gaelic translation of Bunyan's "Water of Life," and also translations of the hymns "Abide with me," and "Nearer, my God, to Thee." At first engaged in teaching in Scotland and England, he latterly took orders in the Church of England, and died at Hennock, Devonshire, in 1884.

James Grant, son of Grigor Grant, Balnaglaic, was an accomplished charter scholar, who, in addition to assisting Mr Cosmo Innes and Professor Masson in connection with the Government publications edited by them, gave to the public in 1876 a valuable "History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland." He was engaged at the time of his death, in 1885, on a similar work on the Parish Schools. By his will he bequeathed a sum of £500 to the School Board for the establishment of a "James Grant Bursary," open to boys who have been born in the

Parish, or have attended any of the public schools in the Parish for not less than two years.

The Rev. Allan Sinclair, son of Robert Sinclair, tenant of Borlum, published in 1865 a Gaelic translation of the Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne. He was also the author of an interesting work—"Reminiscences of the Life and Labours of Dugald Buchanan"—and of numerous articles in magazines and newspapers on subjects connected with the Highlands. He was minister of the Free Church at Kenmore, Perthshire, where he died in 1888.

These, with the exception of such as still survive,[1] and of Archibald Grant, to whom reference will hereafter be made, are the only authors connected with our Parish who have ventured to put their productions in print. But there were many bards and seanachies in the past whose compositions were left to the caprice of oral tradition. These have not all met the same fate. Beautiful tales and ballads still survive, of whose authors nothing is known. On the other hand, of the effusions of John the Bard,

1 The following Glen-Urquhart authors still [in 1893] live:—Miss A. C. Chambers, Polmaily, author of "Life in the Walls," "Mill of Dalveny," "Life Underground," "Robin the Bold," "Away on the Moorland," "The Shepherd of Ardmuir," "Annals of Hartfell Chase," "Amid the Greenwood," and "The Tenants of Gorsmead;" Miss Cameron, late of Lakefield, author of the "The House of Achendaroch;" Rev. K. S. Macdonald, D.D., Calcutta, author of "The Vedic Religion," "Rome's Relation to the Bible," and other works; Mr Alexander Macdougall, schoolmaster, Corrimony, translator into Gaelic of Owen's "Communion with God;" and Rev. Alexander Chisholm, Boglashin, author of "The Bible in the Light of Nature, of Man, and of God."

[These authors have now (1913) all passed away].

the first of the name of Grant who owned Urquhart, probably not one line remains; and Iain Mabach, an ancient bard of the Braes, is remembered, not by his songs, but by the regret to which he gave expression on his death-bed—"Nach maith a' gheallach chreach sin, 's nach urrain dhomhsa feum a dheanamh dhi!" "Isn't that a beautiful moon for a cattle-spoil, and that I am unable to make use of her!"

Of the bards whose names and productions have come down to us, the oldest, perhaps, is Iain Mac Eobhain Bhain, who flourished in Glenmoriston early in the seventeenth century. Later in the same century Donald Donn sang much in and concerning our Parish; and early in the eighteenth century, Ewen Macdonald composed a descriptive poem on Coiriarairidh in Glenmoriston, which formed the model of Duncan Macintyre's better known "Coirecheathaich." Alexander Grant of Shewglie, who was a cultured player on the violin and harp, wrote a welcome to Prince Charles; and his daughter, Janet, wife of Cameron of Clunes, a stirring song in praise of Lochiel of The Forty-Five.

Alexander Grant (Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain), the most gifted of the bards of our Parish, was the second son of John Grant, Achnagoneran, and was born about the year 1772. He early joined the army, and saw service in Denmark, Portugal, Spain, France, and the West Indies. During his wanderings he was solaced and cheered by the fellowship of the Highland muse; and his songs possess great merit, containing vivid glimpses of the life of the British

soldier during the events which followed the French Revolution, and breathing burning affection to the scenes and companions of his childhood and youth. Of his native Glenmoriston, and the joy of revisiting it, he sang and dreamed for years; but his dreams and hopes were not to be realised. The longed-for furlough at last came, and the happy soldier travelled northwards; but at *Seann-Talamh*, above Drumnadrochit, and within a few hours' journey of his father's house, he was suddenly taken ill, and, unable to proceed further, he sought shelter under the hospitable roof of "Bean a' Ghriasaiche Ghallda," and there expired. He was buried in the first instance in Kilmore, and it is still told that while a young woman, whose heart he had won and retained, lay on his grave weeping, she imagined she heard moans from beneath her. On her reporting this the grave was opened, and it was found that the body had turned in the coffin, and was lying face downwards! It was removed to Glenmoriston, and the churchyard of Invermoriston now holds the dust of Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain.[1]

"Braigh Rusgaich"—the only song, so far as is known, composed by Iain Mac Dhughaill, Bunloit—has for the last hundred years continued to be one of the most popular songs of the district of Loch Ness. It was composed in Edinburgh, where the bard for a time resided, and happily depicts Nature in her pleasantest moods, and gives pathetic expression to

1 Alasdair's songs, collected by the Author, are printed in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. X.

his strong desire for the peaceful solitudes of Brae Ruiskich.

John Grant, Aonach, who took part in the siege of Gibraltar, composed songs and hymns; while his son Archibald Grant (Archie Tailleir, born in 1785), was the author of a volume of poems, which was published in 1863. Archibald was a noted seanachie, and his productions abound in interesting allusions to ancient traditions. He died in 1870, and was buried with his fathers in Clachan Mhercheird.

Among others who have successfully wooed the Highland muse during the present century[1] are Angus MacCulloch, Bullburn; Lewis Cameron, Drumnadrochit; Angus Macdonald, who has already been referred to; William Mackay, Blairbeg; and Hugh Fraser, Lewistown, latterly in Inverness —all now deceased—as well as more than one who are still with us. Bardism, it is pleasant to record, has not yet ceased to exist in our Glens; and Glenmoriston, especially, is still the favoured retreat of that Spirit of Poesy which so greatly and so beneficially influenced the inhabitants of the Parish in the Olden Times.[2]

1 The nineteenth.

2 See Appendix O for selections from the productions of the Bards of the Parish. In 1895 Mr A. Macdonald, accountant, Highland Railway, Inverness (a native of Glenmoriston), published "Coinneach is Coille," a volume of original Gaelic poems and songs, which was very favourably received.

CHAPTER XXI

FOLK-LORE IN THE PARISH

Decay of Folk-lore.—Decline of the Ceilidh.—Satan in the Parish.—His Conflicts with the Men.—The Death of the Factor.—Fair Ewen of the Goblin.—Hags and Goblins.—Cailleach a' Chrathaich.—Destruction of the Macmillans.—Cailleach Allt-an-Dùnain.—Death of Macdougalls and Macdonalds.—Cailleach Allt-Saigh.—Cailleach Chragain-na-Cailleich.—Donald Macrae's Adventure.—Daibhidh and Mor of Corri-Dho.—Their Feud against the Men of Urquhart.—Bòcan na Sleabhaich.—The White Mare of Corri-Dho.—The Death of Alasdair Cutach.—The Fairies and their Haunts.—Theft of Mothers and Babes.—Other Depredations.—Fairy Love-making and its Results.—Gay Life in Fairy Knowes.—The Fairy Smith of Tornashee.—The Witches of the Parish.—Their Pastimes and Pursuits.—Divination.—Dead Men and Demon Cats.—A Famous Seer.—The Evil Eye.—Second Sight.—Sacrifices and Safeguards.

Folk-lore, before the days of the Schoolmaster and the Men, bulked largely in the every-day life of the inhabitants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Even after the appearance of these destructive agencies, it long held its ground in the Parish, although with a gradually diminishing vitality. Until within the last twenty-five years,[1] the people spent the winter evenings around some

[1] That is, twenty-five years before 1893.

favourite fireside, where tales were told, poems recited, songs sung, and riddles propounded—the head of the house employing himself the while in making a creel, or whittling into shape a wooden ladle or some other article of domestic utility; and the good-wife in plying the distaff, or gently driving the spinning-wheel. A great and sudden change—and in some of its aspects a regrettable one—has, however, taken place. The ancient institution of the *ceilidh*,[1] which nurtured good fellowship and good feeling, has all but disappeared. The penny newspaper has taken the place of the tale and the song; and present political and social questions, with all their appeals to self-interest and cupidity, occupy the minds of men to the almost entire exclusion of the deeds of the *Feinne*, and of the traditional heroes of the Parish. And so the ancient lore is allowed to decay, and no new seanachies arise to take the place of the old as they, one after another, disappear into the unknown.

Of the historical legends which of old formed no small portion of the folk-lore of the Parish, some use has been made in the preceding pages. It is proprosed to deal briefly in this chapter with that branch of it which may be placed under the head of The Supernatural.

Satan, who is familiar to us under the various names of *An Diabhal, An Droch Spiorad, An Droch Rud, An Namhad, An Riabhach*—that is, The Devil, The Evil Spirit, The Evil Thing, The Adversary, The Speckled One—occupies the first

1 Ceilidh (pronounced *kaily*): a fire-side social gathering.

place in our local system of demonology. In impious imitation of the Godhead, he consists of three persons—the Black Devil, the Speckled, and the White, the latter being the most dangerous, not only on account of his excessive share of evil, but also because of his hypocrisy and the difficulty of distinguishing him from an angel of light. The Devil's appearances have been without number, but he has been especially troublesome to the Men. Early in the nineteenth century an elder was urgently called upon, on a dark night, to visit a dying man who had not led the most exemplary of lives. The elder hastened to the sufferer's house, but his progress was soon interrupted by the cries of a child. Making for the spot from which they came, he found an infant lying under a bush, and apparently in great distress. To wrap it in his plaid and take it on his back was but the work of a moment, and he again pressed forward to administer the consolations of religion to the suffering sinner. By-and-bye, however, as he ascended a steep hill, his burden became so heavy that he was forced to sit down on a bank and rest. When he tried to resume his journey he found it impossible to rise, and he then looked behind and saw, to his amazement, not the child, but a great hideous monster which glared upon him with flaming eyes, and clutched him with horny fingers about the throat until he was well-nigh strangled. The good man at once realised that this was the Evil One endeavouring to keep him away from the death-bed, and he invoked the aid and protection of the Trinity — whereupon the

Enemy disappeared in a flash of light, and interfered with him no more. Hurrying on, he soon reached the dying man, and was the means of bringing peace to his soul before he closed his eyes for ever.

A somewhat similar story relates how one of the Men, journeying at night, came to the old ford near the mouth of the river Enerick, with the intention of crossing. On reaching the bank he found the stream high, and a boy making ineffectual efforts to wade across. Placing the boy on his back he entered the water. When in mid-channel his load became unbearably heavy, and on looking round he found that he was carrying an Evil Thing of great size, which was trying hard to press him under the water. In his distress he called upon the Trinity, and instantly the Fiend vanished into the dark.

A man of well-known piety and grace, who was an ornament in the Church, married a woman of equally good disposition and temper; and much blessing was expected to result from the union. How disappointed and scandalized, therefore, were all good people when it became known that the couple had given themselves up to discord and strife, and that their fireside was the most unhappy in the Parish! Means taken to get them to agree had no effect—each declaring that the other was a fiend and roused feelings of a most fiendish nature. At last one of the Men called, in sorrow and shame, with the view of pleading with them to put an end to the scandal. On approaching the house he was distressed to hear high sounds of anger and wrath. Going to the

window he saw the husband and wife in the height of a terrible quarrel. He also saw that they were not alone. Between them moved continually a repulsive-looking thing which did its best to keep them going. When the husband gave up, the Evil Thing appeared to scratch and bite him; and he instantly started afresh. When the woman's tongue slackened speed, she was attacked in the same way; and on she went with renewed energy. Rightly concluding that the mysterious being was the Tempter himself, the Man boldly entered the house, and, severely reprimanding the couple, asked them whether they knew in whose company they were. They, however, had seen nothing; but on his suggestion they agreed to join him in prayer—with the result that the Fiend flew up the chimney, and that peace ever afterwards reigned in the house.

The Devil's motive in harassing good men, and creating a scandal in connection with a pious couple, is not far to seek; but it is not so easy to understand why he delighted in harassing and destroying those who were supposed to have voluntarily entered his own service. The case of the factor who persecuted the righteous, and, as his reward, was beaten to death by the Fiend, is well known, and has already been related.[1] Equally well authenticated is the history of Eobhan Ban a' Bhòcain—Fair Ewen of the Goblin. Ewen, who resided in Glenmoriston some eighty or a hundred years ago,[2] entered into an unfortunate paction with Satan, under which he was

1 See p. 379, *supra*. 2 That is, before 1893.

bound to serve him, and to render an account of his stewardship every night before cock-crow. For a time Ewen faithfully carried out the terms of his agreement, and met his Master every night. But the latter grew more and more exacting, and Ewen began to repent. He tried to break off his nocturnal interviews; but, no matter where he was when the hour of meeting arrived, something within him forced him to keep the appointment. With the view of getting rid of his tormentor, he sailed for America. But at sea the Evil Thing met him nightly, and he troubled him so cruelly in America that he was glad to come back to his own country. After his return the meetings were for a period kept as before, but at last Ewen arranged with certain of his neighbours that they should spend a night with him in his house, and prevent his going out—by force, if necessary. The men accordingly sat with him. As the usual hour approached Ewen became restless, and felt impelled to leave. His companions refused to let him go, and in the end bound him hand and foot. Then arose a high, shrieking wind that shook the house to its foundations, and strange sounds and noises were heard which became so terrible that Ewen was released. The unfortunate man walked forth into the dark. He did not return, and next morning his dead body was found stark and stiff on a neighbouring heath.

The Hags and Goblins that haunted certain localities were almost as much dreaded as the Devil. The worst of these was Cailleach a' Chrathaich, the Hag of the Cràach—a wild and mountainous

district lying between Corrimony and Glenmoriston. This being rejoiced in the death of men, the Macmillans being especially the objects of her fierce malice. Her manner was to accost some lonely wayfarer across the wilds, and secretly deprive him of his bonnet. As he travelled on in ignorance of his loss, she rubbed the bonnet with might and main. As the bonnet was worn thin by the friction, the man grew weary and faint, until at last, when a hole appeared in it, he dropped down and died. In this way fell at least five Macmillans within the last hundred and twenty years—and all were found in the heather without a mark of violence. Very few escaped from her toils. One evening, Donald Macmillan, Balmacaan, met her at Cragan a' Chrathaich, and exchanged a passing salutation with her. He went on his way unaware of the fact that she had taken his bonnet. His eyes were, however, soon opened, and he hastened back to the Cragan, where he found her rubbing his head-gear with great vigour. A terrible struggle took place for its possession, in which he in the end prevailed; but as he hurried away from her she hissed into his ear that he would die at nine o'clock on a certain evening. When the evening arrived, his family and neighbours gathered around him, and prayed and read the Scriptures. The hag's words were, however, to be fulfilled, and, as the clock struck the fatal hour, he fell back in his chair and expired.

As Cailleach a' Chrathaich, who was last seen by a member of the Clan Macdougall who is now dead,

but whose son still lives in the Parish, was the enemy of the Macmillans, so Cailleach Allt-an-Dunain was the enemy of the Macdougalls and Macdonalds. As her name bears, her home was in Allt-an-Dùnain—that burn which runs from the Monadh Leumnach down through the lands of Clunebeg until it falls into the Coilty, near the Clunebeg bridge. Many a man did she waylay and destroy on his way across the bleak Monadh Leumnach. She slew Somerled Macdonald about a hundred years ago, at a place on the Bunloit road still marked by his cairn—Carn Shomhairle. She killed Dugald Macdougall about ninety years ago at Carn Dughaill (Dugald's Cairn), on the same road; and his son, young Dugald, fell a victim to her near the same place at a later period. She was last seen about forty years ago by an estimable woman who still survives to tell the tale, notwithstanding that in her veins runs the blood of the Macdonalds and the Macdougalls.[1]

Cailleach Allt-Saigh was a female goblin of an amiable disposition, who did what she could to protect people from the malice of Cailleach Allt-an-Dùnain, by warning them of her malicious projects; and similar services were rendered to intended victims of Cailleach a' Chrathaich by a gentle spirit who inhabited Cragan-na-Caillich, near Tornashee. This latter being had a passion for riding, and it is told that she accosted Donald Macrae,

[1] All these periods run back from 1893. Mary Macdonald, Grotaig, the "estimable woman" who last saw the Cailleach, died in 1902.

Lochletter, one night as he was passing the Cragan, and begged him for a cùlag—that is, a seat behind him on his horse. He enquired, "Nach bu mhaith leat bialag"—"Would you not as soon have a seat in front?" She complied with his suggestion, and leapt into the saddle before him. Quietly binding her with the mare's-hair rope which served him for a rein, he took her home by force, and tied her to one of the couples of his dwelling. Instantly the house was surrounded by hundreds of elves, who shouted and screamed, and stripped the building of every clod and stick of roof. Macrae had enough of her, and he offered to let her go if she would cause the house to be restored to its former condition. To this she agreed, and exclaimed—

"Gach maid is sgrath,
Gu tigh Mhic-Rath,
Ach leum-thar-'chrann is fiodhagach!"

("Speed wood and sod
To the house of Macrae,
Except honeysuckle and bird cherry!")

The words were no sooner uttered than timber and turf flew from all directions and placed themselves in proper position on the roof, until it was sufficiently covered. Then Macrae granted the Cailleach the liberty which she had so well earned.

The mountain stretch at Corri-Dho which is known as Tigh Mor na Seilg—the Great House of the Hunting—was the haunt of a male goblin known as Daibhidh (David), and of a female spirit named Mor. These two strongly objected to the right

which the Glen-Urquhart tenantry had of grazing their cattle in summer on the shielings of Corri-Dho, and they were repeatedly seen driving away the Glen-Urquhart herds. At last Daibhidh was so thoroughly roused that he pulled a great fir tree up by the roots, and, with the assistance of Mor, chased the Urquhart men and their bestial for many miles, until he sent them over the Glenmoriston march beyond Achnagoneran. Daibhidh's words on the occasion are still remembered :—

"Is leams' Doire-Dhamh, is Doire-Dhaibhidh,
Is Boirisgidh bhuidh nan alltain
Is Ceannachnoc mhor le 'fiodh 's le 'fasaich—
A bhodaichibh dubh, daithte, togaibh oirbh!"

("Mine are Doire-Dhamh and Doire-Dhaibhidh,
And yellow Boirisgidh of the streams,
And wide Ceanacroc, with its woods and pasturages—
Ye black and singed carles, take yourselves away!")

And the Urquhart carles did take themselves away, and never again showed face in Corri-Dho.

Another male goblin, known as Bocan-na-Sleabhaich—the Goblin of the Sleabhach—haunted the high ridge (An Sleabhach) lying between Aonach and Fort-Augustus; but he, although ugly, was of a harmless character. Not so harmless was Lar Bhan Choire-Dho — the White Mare of Corri-Dho. The White Mare was for generations the cause of much trouble to the farmers of Urquhart and Glenmoriston; for, if they let loose a horse anywhere within the wide bounds of the Parish, it was almost certain to make off and seek her society. At

last the people of both glens met and resolved to endeavour to destroy her. A large number of the boldest and swiftest among them accordingly formed a ring around her usual haunts, and gradually closed in upon her until she had apparently no way of escape. One of them, Alasdair Cutach (Alexander the Short), a member of the Clann Iain Chaoil of Glenmoriston, was bold enough to seize her by the tail. He had cause to repent. The mare rushed furiously through the crowd, dragging behind her the wretched Alasdair, who, to his horror, found himself unable to let go the tail. On, on she flew, followed by the fleetest of her would-be capturers, until, after a run of many miles, she came to Ruigh an t-Slochdain Duibh, in the mountain region between Achnagoneran and Urquhart. There she and Alasdair disappeared. Next day his mangled corpse was found on the moor. The White Mare has not since been seen.

The Fairies of Urquhart had their haunts at Tornashee, and in the beautiful sidheans or fairy-knowes of Lochletter; and the favourite retreats of their Glenmoriston brothers and sisters were the sidheans of Duldreggan. The fairies were very troublesome to the people of the Parish in the Olden Times. Not only did they carry away young mothers to become wet-nurses for their own elfish imps, and human babes—for what purpose is not quite so clear—but they also milked the cows, and took the substance out of the milk in the dairies. Not sixty years have passed[1] since a child was taken

[1] That is, had not passed in 1893.

out of a Glen-Urquhart cradle, and a changeling put in its place which soon withered away and died; and their last attempt to steal a newly made mother has not yet been forgotten. The wife of Ewen Macdonald, Duldreggan, had just given birth to his first-born, when he went out at night to attend to some necessary duties in connection with his farm. As he was crossing a small stream, ever since known as Caochan na Sgine—the Streamlet of the Knife—he heard a peculiar rushing sound over his head, and a heavy sigh exactly the same as sighs which he had within the last hour or two heard his wife give. Instantly realising what had occurred, he threw his knife into the air in name of the Trinity, and his wife dropped down before him. She was being carried away by the fairies, when his presence of mind saved her.

Two men were reaping at Duldreggan one very hot day, when one of them expressed a strong desire for a drink of butter-milk. Instantly a little woman appeared and offered him a draught from a vessel which she carried. He declined; but his companion drank, and died within a year and a day.

A farmer slept on the Sidhean Buidhe—the Yellow Fairy-knowe — at Duldreggan, and was awakened by a child's cries coming from underneath him. Placing his ear against the sod, he heard a voice hushing the child to rest, and telling it that the white cow would spill her milk that evening, and that it then might drink its fill. The white cow was the farmer's own, and on his

return home he informed his wife of what he had heard, and warned her to be careful that no milk was spilt. Notwithstanding her utmost care, however, the white cow kicked the pail, and sent its contents over the sward.

Sometimes the fairies stole not only the milk, but also the cattle—as in the case of the Gobha Mor of Polmaily[1]—and substituted a wretched breed of their own, which pined away and died. Beautiful maidens of their race made love to young men, with fatal results to the latter; and, worse still, they sometimes threw their glamour over married men, and made them desert their lawful wives. The Gobha Mor, as we saw, prospered through his intercourse with his leannan-sidhe, or fairy-love; but his was an exceptional case, and the result of such traffic was, as a rule, disastrous, if not fatal, to the human transgressor.

Although the fairies thus bred mischief and misfortune among the people of the Parish, they themselves appear to have enjoyed life as if they were guiltless of sin. Their dances on the green sward on moonlight nights are still remembered, and the enchanting music which was heard issuing from their knowes by persons whose children still live has not yet ceased to be spoken of. In Glen-Urquhart their general evil reputation was to some extent relieved by the good deeds of one of their number—the Gobha Sidhe, or Fairy Smith, of Tornashee. Whoever in the Glen was in need

[1] See page 100 *supra*.

of a reaping hook, spade, or other such implement, had only to leave in the evening a piece of iron at the stone of Clach-na-hurrain, in Tornashee wood, along with a suitable offering for the Fairy Smith; and when he returned next morning he found the article he wanted awaiting him. At last, a certain person deposited a wooden lint-beater, in order that it might be converted into an iron mallet. On his return, he found the beater untouched, and, as he raised it in his hands, an echo reached his ear :—

" Cha shimid e, cha shimid e,
Ach maide-buailidh linn;
Is buille cha dean mise tuille
'An coille Thoir-na-sidhe !"

(" 'Tis not a mallet, 'tis not a mallet,
But a stick for beating lint;
And I shall never work again
In the wood of Tornashee !").

The Fairy Smith had, indeed, been greatly offended, and from that day until now neither he nor his handiwork has been seen in Urquhart.

Although no record remains in the Parish of any Witches of outstanding notoriety or power, Glen-Urquhart has known not a few of mediocre talent. According to tradition the Urquhart witches were, hundreds of years ago, the bearers of the stones for the walls of Urquhart Castle. These stones were brought from the districts of Caiplich and Abriachan, and the rock from which the wretched carriers got the first sight of the Castle, as they toiled towards it

with their burdens, is to this day called Cragan nam Mallachd—the Rock of the Curses. The great place of meeting of the Urquhart witches was An Clarsach (The Harp), a rock on the shore of Loch Ness, and within the bounds of the farm of Tychat. There they could be seen congregated on certain nights under the presidency of his Satanic Majesty, who sat on a ledge of the rock, and, when not engrossed in more serious business, played to them on bagpipes and stringed instruments—which circumstance gave the rock its name. The effect of his music on the old women was marvellous: they danced and flung as no maid of seventeen ever did, and indulged in pranks and cantrips which the lithest athlete could not touch. Their evil influence was exercised quietly and in secret, and involved the objects of their attentions in misfortune, or even death. We have seen how a witch in the shape of a hare was responsible for the fatal fight at Corribuy, and how a later generation of the evil race helped to bring about the death of an erring factor. The merits of the corp crèadh—the clay corpse—which proved so fatal on the latter occasion, have not yet been forgotten. Within the last quarter of a century[1] two such images, stuck with pins, have been discovered in the Glen.

The witches, however, made themselves most troublesome in connection with the dairy industry of the Parish. They were greater experts than even the fairies at the art of taking the substance out of the milk. Cream frequently refused to be churned

1 Counted back from 1893.

into butter, and cheese was often so thoroughly deprived of its essence that it tasted like baked sawdust, and floated like a cork. In the early years of the nineteenth century the dairy work on the large farm of Shewglie was in this way completely suspended. No butter would come from the cream, and no cheese worthy of the name would come from the milk. In his extremity, Macdougall, the farmer, proposed to consult the famous Willox of Tomintoul, who worked marvellous cures with the Warlock's Stone and the Kelpie's Bridle. Before doing so, however, he sought the advice of the saintly Duncan of Buntait. His advice was that he should avoid the Warlock and appeal to the Almighty. A prayer meeting was accordingly held, and special prayers offered up; and henceforth Macdougall had no more reason to complain.

Somewhat akin to witchcraft was that species of DIVINATION which was known by the name of TAGHAIRM. Two forms of it were practised in Glenmoriston—Taghairm nan Daoine (the Taghairm of Men), and Taghairm nan Cat (the Taghairm of Cats). The last expert in this black art was Alasdair Mac Iain 'Ic Iain, who flourished at Ballintombuy, in that Glen, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. When he wished to operate with men, he placed himself within a large cauldron just outside the entrance of the ancient burying-ground of Clachan Mheircheird, and from there summoned the dead to rise and pass before him. This they did until the one appeared who was able to communicate the

information which he required. On one occasion, when he was in this way making an unusually bold attempt to solve the mysteries of the future, the dead arose and streamed out of the burying-ground, until three thousand of them crowded the surrounding fields; but still no glimpse of the future was given to the seer. At last the form of his own dead niece appeared, and revealed to him the evils that were to befall himself. He never practised his art again—but his niece's prophecies were in due time fulfilled, and his career was closed by a party of Lochabermen, who shot him down as he tried to turn back the cattle which they were in the act of taking from him. He fell three times before he expired, and the places are marked by three cairns to this day.

The person who would learn of the future by Taghairm nan Cat had to stand before a great fire, and keep roasting live cats on spits, until, in response to their cries of agony, large black demon-cats appeared, and gave the sought-for information. The same result was sometimes attained through the turning of the sieve and the shears, which had the effect of raising the Devil.

The Evil Eye has often been looked upon as of the nature of witchcraft. While, however, the latter was a gift bestowed on human beings as the result of a voluntary compact with Satan, the former was an involuntary acquisition for which the unfortunate possessor was not responsible. If he praised a

beast, that beast was sure to die—as numerous instances which have occurred within recent years amply prove. It is told of Alexander Grant of Shewglie—the same who was involved in the troubles of The Forty-Five—that his Evil Eye was so little under his control that his own best cattle had to be kept out of his sight. If he admired them even mentally, death invariably followed.

The Second Sight was another gift which most men who possessed it would willingly do without. They knew of the approach of death by death-candles, wraiths, and the shrieks of the *taibhse*. Sounds of hammer and saw within the carpenter's shop, when the carpenter was in bed, foretold the making of the coffin; and the phantom funeral was invariably followed by the real one. After death men frequently appeared to their old companions.[1] And there still lives in Urquhart the man[2] who last saw the battle of Blar-an-Aonaich behind Culnakirk — spectre armies engaged in a sanguinary struggle, forboding, it is feared, a conflict and carnage the like of which our Parish has not yet seen.

Fortunately for the people of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, certain measures were known which, if taken, served to ward off or mitigate the numerous

[1] Alexander Mackay, the laird who sold Achmonie, for years after his death continued his old earthly custom of visiting his stables. It is not certain that the Rev. James Doune Smith has yet discontinued his nightly stroll between the Manse and the cross-roads on the Blairbeg and Drumnadrochit Road.

[2] Peter Fraser, farmer, Culnakirk—now dead (1913).

supernatural evils to which they were exposed. Charms and incantations were the commonest preventives. The Bible or a bar of iron was placed in the bed or the cradle, to protect the young mother or child from elfish thieves. The protective virtues of the rowan tree were almost universal. Oblations of milk were freely poured on the fairy-knowes, to appease their mischievous inhabitants. Fifty years ago[1] a live cock was buried at Lewistown as a peace offering to the spirit of epilepsy. At an earlier period lambs were buried at the threshold of dwelling-houses and cow-huts, as a protection from the demons that sought admission; while the growing corns were similarly guarded from evil by a marching through and around them of persons carrying blazing torches on the eve of St John the Baptist. A pilgrimage to the holy wells of the Temple and St Columba, and a faithful and proper use of their waters, not only cured the pilgrim of his bodily ailments, but also shielded him from the darts of the Evil One and his agents.[2] And even after the spirit of man left his body, it was possible to protect the latter from the demons that hovered around it. Not more than seventy years have passed

1 That is, before 1893.

2 "There is a farm in it" [Glen-Urquhart], wrote William Lorimer in 1763, "called The Temple, where there stand the ruins of a church and a consecrated well to which superstitious people resort for curing several diseases." People still live [in 1893] who remember this custom, and who saw the walls and trees near the well almost covered with bits of cloth left by persons who imagined they thus left their diseases behind them. Coins were also left in the well as offerings.

since the handbell which for centuries was carried at funerals, and kept ringing in front of the coffin for the safeguard of its mortal contents, was discontinued in Glen-Urquhart as a relic of Popery. It was really a relic of a belief which existed before the Pope, and even before Christianity.[1]

1 The bell—*An Clagan Beag* (The Little Bell)—was carried by the beadle, who was paid a small fee. The last who carried it was Ewen Roy Macfie, who was beadle for many years. When the custom was discontinued—at the instance of John Macdonald the Catechist—the change was objected to not only by Ewen but by many of the people, and a little agitation was got up on the subject. The bell, unfortunately, disappeared with the custom.

CHAPTER XXII

INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PARISH

Origin and History of Agriculture and Land-Ownership.—Davachs and other Divisions.—Rise and Fall of Population.—Sub-Division of Holdings.—The Occupiers of the Soil.—Origin of the Crofter.—Leases.—Agricultural Productions and Customs.—Ancient Trade in Cattle, Skins, Wool, and Furs.—Rents and Services.—Foundation of Lewistown and Milton.—Famines.—Game Laws.—An Ancient Royal Forest.—Timber Traffic.—Trades.—Old Industries.—Copper Mine.—Iron Works.—Lime Manufacture.—Distaff and Spindle.—Linen and Woollen Factories.—Introduction of Spinning Wheels.—Ale.—An Ancient Brew-house.—Whisky-making.—Modern Breweries.—Roads and Bridges.—Traffic on Loch Ness.—Ancient Boats.—Cromwell's Frigate.—The Highland Galley.—Steamboats.—Highland Hospitality.—Inns.—Samuel Johnson at Aonach.—The Dwellings of the Past.—Modern Improvements.—Law and Order.—Sanctuaries.—Baron Courts and their Procedure.—Curious administrative division of the Parish.—Church Courts.—The Poor.—Social Customs.—Fights and Feuds.—Modern Changes.—The Conclusion.

If we could but raise the thick curtain that shuts out the distant past from our view, we would see our remote ancestor in Urquhart and Glenmoriston dwelling in caves and crevices, or clustered with his fellows in the hut-circles whose remains still cover the higher moorlands of the Parish, a stranger to tillage and pasturage, wandering in search of food

over a land which he has not yet learned to call his own. Coming nearer our own time, we would find him the possessor of flocks which roam with those of the other members of his family or tribe over a district which he and they have marked out for themselves, and vaguely claim as their common possession. At a later period we would see him combining his pastoral pursuits with the art of husbandry, and cultivating patches of land on the run-rig system; or, later still, enclosing his arable fields and their surroundings, and appropriating them to himself, or holding them for certain dues or services under a chief or other person who has already acquired a right of ownership to them.

At what precise period this last stage was reached in Urquhart and Glenmoriston, it is impossible to say. If we literally accept the words of Dio, who wrote in the third century, there was in his time no tillage in what we now know as the Highlands of Scotland, the people living "by pasturage, the chase, and certain berries." But probably we ought not to read this as meaning that they were absolutely without knowledge of husbandry; for in the time of Columba—the sixth century—corn, agricultural operations, and farm buildings were so common as to prove that agriculture was not then of very recent introduction. In Columba's time, too, the right of private property in land was known, and not only was Iona conferred on himself, but from his day downwards lands were from time to time granted to his followers and successors, who were the great teachers of husbandry in the Highlands.

Their possessions in our Parish have already been referred to.[1] Until the eleventh or twelfth century, the owners of the soil held it on the unwritten title of *duchas*. Then written charters became common—issuing in the first instance from the King, from whom all right was held to flow. The first title now known of land in our Parish is the agreement of 1233 between Sir Alan Durward and the Chancellor of Moray.[2]

With the exception of the lands which belonged to the Church, the whole territory now embraced in the Parish formed, from the earliest time of which we have record till 1509, one large domain, attached as a rule to the Castle, and held by the King or by persons to whom the King granted it.[3] In 1509 this territory was alienated from the Crown, and divided into three estates—Urquhart, Corrimony, and Glenmoriston—and granted to the Laird of Grant and his two sons. In 1557 the old Church property of Achmonie was acquired by John Mackay. In that year, therefore, there were four private proprietors in the Parish. That number continued with certain variations till 1779, when Achmonie was purchased by the Laird of Grant. In 1825 the estate of Lakefield (now Kilmartin) was formed out of Corrimony, and the old number of four heritors was thus restored.

1 See Chap. xvii.

2 See p. 16, *supra*.

3 In this domain was also included that portion of the forest of Cluanie which lies to the east of the water-shed, and now forms part of the estate of Kintail. See footnote p. 448 *infra*.

The early Celts sometimes divided their lands into *davachs*—the word being *dabhach*, a vat or large vessel used for measuring or holding corn, and the meaning of it as applied to land being, a sufficient extent for the sowing of a *dabhach* of seed. To this extent of arable land was attached a certain outrun of moorland or of green pasture. Where the word *davach*, or its equivalent *doch*, is found, it proves that part at least of the lands to which it is applied was under tillage before the twelfth century, when Saxon or Southern systems of measurement came into use in the North. Glenmoriston was divided into several *davachs*, and Urquhart into ten, which are still known as the Ten Davachs of Urquhart—*Deich Dochan Urchudainn*. In our Parish the word davach first appears in Sir Alan Durward's deed of 1233, and the division indicates that at one time Urquhart consisted of ten large holdings corresponding with the ten davachs. Some of these were subsequently divided into half davachs, quarter davachs, and bolls.

It is interesting to trace the increase within the last four centuries of the number of agricultural holdings. The charters of 1509 show that what is now the estate of Urquhart (including Achmonie) consisted of 18 holdings, Corrimony of 4, and Glenmoriston of 12. Randolph's charter to Sir Robert Chisholm, in 1345, proves that some at least of those divisions existed in that year, and the fact that they are in 1509 described by their Old Extent values would appear to show that the divisions existed as far back as the thirteenth century, when the Old Extent valuation

was made. The tenants of these large holdings had sub-tenants under them. In 1548 there were still 18 holdings on Urquhart and Achmonie, which were occupied by 111 tenants and sub-tenants. In 1636 the tenants and sub-tenants numbered 110. In 1765 the estate of Urquhart proper was let to 81 tenants, who had under them 70 sub-tenants and 50 cottars, exclusive of the sub-tenants and cottars of Shewglie, who probably numbered 10. Achmonie at the time had 11 tenants. In 1808 the sub-tenants were made crofters, holding directly of the proprietor; and Urquhart and Achmonie were divided into 169 holdings, including the allotments of Milton and Lewistown, but exclusive of cottars possessing houses and gardens only. After that year the population, which had for ages been kept down by war and spoliation and famine, rapidly increased, with the result that the holdings were gradually sub-divided, until they now number 306, exclusive of 106 cottars having houses and gardens.[1]

1 That is, in 1893. In connection with these figures, it may be interesting to note the population of Urquhart and Glenmoriston at various periods. In 1755, according to Webster's returns, the inhabitants numbered 1943. In 1763 they were estimated by Lorimer at 2000. The following are the numbers in the census years:—In 1801, 2633; in 1811, 2446 (a reduced number, chiefly brought about by the absence of many men in the war); in 1821, 2786; in 1831, 2942; in 1841, 3104; in 1851, 3280; in 1861, 2911; in 1871, 2769; in 1881, 2437; in 1891, 2035; in 1901, 1828; and in 1911, 1675. The steady decrease which has been going on since 1851, when the population reached the highest point which it ever touched, is accounted for by the fact that the young men are not now satisfied with remaining at home as their fathers did, but go out into the world, and that the young women also leave home to "better" themselves elsewhere. In 1881 there were 2115 persons in the Parish speaking Gaelic; 1633 in 1891; 1396 in 1901; and 1147 in 1911.

While the principal tenants or tacksmen have since the sixteenth century held their holdings on formal written leases,[1] their sub-tenants were occupiers-at-will, and whatever rights or privileges they enjoyed were of a meagre and unsatisfactory nature. Many of them were descendants of the old *nativi*, or serfs,[2] and continued till the end of the eighteenth century to be dependent on the landowners and tacksmen, and to be virtually their servants. They are still remembered by the name of *malanaich*—that is, mailers, or payers of mail or small rent, as distinguished from the *tuath*—the name applied in the district of Loch Ness to large farmers; and their condition in 1763 is thus described by Mr William Lorimer, tutor, and latterly secretary, to Sir James Grant:—"There are few or no subtenants, strictly speaking, that is, persons who have some possessions of ground from the principal tenants; but there are many cottagers or cottars, called also mealers [mailers]. A tenant has one, two, perhaps three, of these, to whom he gives the liberty to build a house on his farm. This house has three couples, with other kinds of wood, all of which are taken out of the Laird's woods without any payment to him. This mealer pays to

[1] The oldest agricultural lease now extant of lands in the Parish is one by the Bishop of Moray to Mackay of Achmonie in 1554 (Appendix C), which was in 1557 exchanged for a charter (Appendix D). An early specimen of the Grant leases is given in Appendix C.

[2] The Wolf of Badenoch's *nativi*, or native slaves, are mentioned in 1389—see p. 45 *supra*. Among the Wester Bunloit sufferers in the Great Raid of 1545 was John McGillechrist Mor Meinfuttir—John, son of Big Christopher, son of the Fuidir or stranger bondsman.

the tenant yearly a merk [13s 4d Scots, or 1s 1⅓d stg.] for every couple for this house. The mealer has also a cow, to which the tenant allows a little grass. He has also a few sheep; and the tenant, for this grass, and the liberty of the pasture of the sheep, causes the cottar or mealer keep his sheep, and gets other little services from him." These mailers were converted into crofters by Sir James, who had the estate of Urquhart surveyed, and the holdings re-adjusted, in 1808. To him—the Good Sir James, as he was called in his own day—the Parish owes much. From his succession in 1773—or rather from 1761, when his father (the Ludovick Grant of The Forty-Five), entrusted him with the management of the estate—till his death in 1811, he never ceased to labour for the improvement of the lot of his people, employing them in planting, and the construction of roads, bridges, and river embankments; encouraging the erection of stone-built houses, and the cultivation of flax and the potato; introducing turnips and rye-grass; and insisting for the first time on a regular rotation of cropping, and on good husbandry generally.[1] To emigration, which became common in his time, he strongly objected, and with the view of keeping the people at home he founded the villages of Lewistown and Milton, and attached allotments to them for the

1 Flax, oats, barley, and bear are mentioned as crops in Urquhart in the sixteenth century. The place-names Shewglie (Seagalaidh), and Lag-an-t-Seagail in Wester Bunloit, show that rye was grown; and the name Druim-a'-Chruithneachd, on the old farm of Shewglie, indicates that wheat was not unknown. The potato was introduced early in the eighteenth century.

use of artisans and labourers. From the written "Scheme" of Lewistown, still preserved at Castle Grant, it is evident he expected the village to grow into a place of some importance.

While the mailers' lot must always have been a hard one—the famines which periodically visited the Parish being specially hard upon them[1]—the large tenants, as a rule, enjoyed a rough prosperity, in spite of the wars and spoliations from which they frequently suffered. Not only did they grow large quantities of corn as early at least as the sixteenth century, but they also, at an earlier period still, possessed great numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs, which found their way in droves to the south of the Grampians.[2]

1 The famines were sometimes the result of war or spoliation; sometimes they were caused by the failure of the crops. The periods of waste which, as we have seen, occurred in the 15th and 16th centuries, must have had their corresponding periods of want. There was a scarcity in 1624; a long period of distress from 1689 to 1693, during which the tenants were unable to pay rent; and a famine in 1697, when food was so scarce that The Chisholm found it impossible to obtain a peck of meal in Inverness, "neather for gold or monie in hand," as his Inverness merchant writes him. A famine and pestilence followed The Forty-Five and its outrages. In 1782 there was an entire failure of crop, which was followed by great destitution. To relieve the distressed, Sir James Grant sent from London to Urquhart, according to a letter from himself to Grant of Lochletter, "10 ton of choice picked potatoes for seed, 100 bolls of white pease for meal, and 50 bolls Blanesly seed oats." The year is still remembered in Urquhart as "Bliadhna na Peasarach Bana," the Year of the White Pease; and it is still told how people died of want, and how others managed to subsist on blood drawn from living cattle, and on nettles and other wild herbs.

2 Sir William Fitzwarine, in his letter from Urquhart to Edward the First, in 1297, acknowledges the King's "letter about wool and hides." Droves of cattle, sheep, and pigs were sent to Edward at Lochindorb, but there is no evidence that any of them were sent from Urquhart. In 1502 the Laird of Grant supplied the Scottish King

During the summer and autumn months the herds and flocks were kept on the higher moorlands, which were separated from the arable fields and lower pastures by the extensive head-dykes whose remains still almost surround the glens, or, in the warmer days of June, July, and early August, in the distant shielings, to which a certain number of the people annually migrated, and which were the scenes of much innocent mirth and recreation.[1] Later in the year they fed on the hitherto preserved pastures within the head-dykes; and, after the corn was secured, on the pasture lands and stubble fields. With the exception of the milk cows, the cattle were seldom housed in winter, and in severe seasons many of them perished before the return of spring.

Before the introduction of coined money into Scotland in the reign of David the First, tenants paid their rent in kind—in cattle, sheep, goats, cloth, corn, cheese, and other produce. It was known in Gaelic as *càin*, a word which has come down to our own day in such expressions as "kain fowl." After

with "69 marts, with skins." In 1526 Boece (Bellenden's Translation) writes:—"Beside Lochnes, quhilk is xxiv milis of lenth, and xii of breid, ar mony wild hors; and, amang thame, ar mony martrikis [martens], bevers, quhitredis [weasels], and toddis [foxes]: the furringis and skinnis of thaim ar coft [bought] with gret price amang uncouth marchandis." In 1553 there were 64 "wild" mares—unbroken, and kept for breeding purposes—and 18 foals on St Ninian's (see note 3, p. 114 *supra*). Dr Robertson, who visited the Parish in 1804, in connection with his Report to the Board of Agriculture on the state of agriculture in the County of Inverness, writes:—"In Glenmoriston alone, a district of no great extent, a gentleman of veracity told me there were 900 horses till very lately."

1 The principal shieling grounds were Corri-Dho, Iarairidh, Uchd-Reudair, Brae Ruiskich, Glen Coilty, Corribuy, the remote pasturages of Corrimony, and Ruigh Mhullaich on the estate of Achmonie.

David's time the landlord received his dues partly in kind—or "customs," as it came to be called—and partly in money. This dual form of rent was continued in Urquhart until customs were abolished by the Good Sir James. He it was, too, who discontinued the "services" in which for ages the tenants had been liable. These services were originally rendered to the King's representatives in the Castle, and in later times to the proprietors, or—so far as those of the estate of Urquhart were concerned—to the Laird of Grant's chamberlains as part of their factorial remuneration. They are thus described by William Lorimer in 1763, when they were in full force:—"The tenants have always been in use to pay to the Chamberlain bailey darach,[1] with their service to the bailie or factor—one day for leading his peats, one day for shearing or cutting down his crop, one day for tilling, one day for spreading his dung. Every tenant pays this according to what land he possesses. They pay by the davach in a rent. Out of every davach he gets four ploughs to till one day; 24 shearers out of every davach to cut his corn, one day; 24 horses for a day out of every davach to spread his dung; and 120 carts for a day out of every davach for drawing his peats. . . The only service that the tenants are obliged to pay to the Laird are each of them two long carriages in the year, if required, from Urquhart to Strathspey." In addition to these rents, customs, and services, the tenant, until the

[1] Darach: dark, or darg, a day's work. Bailie-darg: the free labour to which the bailie or factor was entitled from the tenants.

time of Sir James, was bound to grind his corn at the laird's mills, and to pay the customary mill dues;[1] to pay grassum or entry money when he entered a holding or began a new lease; and heriot, when he succeeded through the death of an ancestor or other relative. And before the old order of things was destroyed at Culloden, it was further required of him that he should at his proprietor's call change his ploughshare into a sword, and follow him on his military adventures and expeditions. This last obligation was, however, after the advent of the Grants, generally disregarded by the Macdonalds, Macmillans, and other septs in Urquhart, who, in the Stewart "troubles", that ended with The Forty-Five, chose to follow their own clan chiefs rather than their proprietors.

Contrary to what is sometimes supposed, the old Highlander was not always at liberty to take the free use of the mountains and woods and streams with which he was surrounded. An old Gaelic proverb says that a fish from the pool, a tree from the wood, and a deer from the mountain, are thefts of which no man ever was ashamed—*breac a linne, maid a coille, 's fiadh a fireach, meirle as nach do ghabh duine riamh nàire.* But thefts they were considered to be notwithstanding, and from the earliest times efforts were made by the legis-

1 In former times there were mills at Corrimony, for that estate; at Milton of Buntait, for Buntait; at Mill of Tore ("the Mill of Inchbrine"), Wester Milton ("the Mill of Cartaly"), and St Ninian's, for the estates of Urquhart and Achmonie; at Easter Milton for Glenmoriston's lands in Glen-Urquhart; and at Invermoriston and Duldreggan for Glenmoriston. Each township had its own kiln.

lature and landowners to suppress them. The Scottish enactments against illegal fishing and hunting and destruction of woods, fill no small portion of the statute-book from the twelfth century to the present, and there is evidence that they were more or less rigorously enforced in the Highlands at a comparatively early period. In our Parish the royal forest of Cluny or Cluanie, which embraced the extensive mountain tracts forming the border-lands of Glenmoriston and Kintail, were, from as early as the thirteenth century at least, reserved, nominally for the King's pleasure, but really for that of his representatives in Urquhart Castle. In that wide preserve no unauthorised person was allowed to hunt or cut wood under pain of severe punishment, and in 1573 letters were issued by James the Sixth protecting it from the inroads of graziers, and cutters of timber, and peelers of trees.[1] The destruction of the woods in the Loch Ness district had indeed attracted attention before this, and in 1563 Lord Lovat and the Laird of Grant found it necessary to obtain from the Earl of Moray, Sheriff of Inverness-shire, an order prohibiting the cutting and peeling of trees in the "woods upon Loucht Ness and thairabout," and giving the magistrates of

1 The Laird of Grant's charter of 1509 granted to him the office of forester of the forest of Cluanie, but the property of the forest was reserved by the King. In time, however, the forest came to be looked upon as the property of the Lairds, by whom it was made over at an early period, partly to the Grants of Glenmoriston, and partly to the Mackenzies of Kintail. See Bond by Sir John Grant to Lord Kintail, dated 21st Dec., 1622—Chiefs of Grant, III., p. 427. The forest extended on both sides of the Moriston and Loch Cluanie from the River Doe to the water-shed, which formed the eastern boundary of Kintail. See foot note, p. 439.

Inverness power to seize all green timber and bark illegally brought into the town.[1] The protection of the woods was a matter of serious moment, and numerous regulations on the subject are preserved in the Grant charter chests.[2] Regulations were also made from time to time for the preservation of deer and roe; and such as were guilty of a breach of them were tried before the baron-bailie, and, on conviction, severely punished.[3]

The timber traffic between the Parish and Inverness and other places was always considerable. To Inverness the trees were floated down the loch and river. It was probably of Glen-Urquhart oak and Glenmoriston pine that the "wonderful ship" was made which, as the old chronicler, Matthew Paris, records, the Earl of St Pol and Blois built at Inverness in 1249 to take himself and his followers to the Holy Land. In the seventeenth century the Lairds of Glenmoriston supplied timber for the repair of Fortrose Cathedral,[4] and the re-erection of

1 Chiefs of Grant, III., 128.

2 See for example, Appendix P.

3 See Appendix P. In 1628, the Earl of Seaforth, Lord Lovat, The Chisholm, Grant of Glenmoriston and others, bound themselves and their tenants by solemn writ to protect deer, doe, and roe, the stealing of which "is appointed to be punished as theft," and the shooting of which "is appointed to be punished with death and escheat of their goods moveable."—(Iona Club Transactions, p. 193).

4 The following letter from John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, to the Laird of Grant is preserved at Castle Grant:—

"Burgie, 22 March, 1636.

"Right Worshipfull Sir,

"You was pleased of your owne pious disposition, to God's glorie and goodness towardis me, without my desert, to promise the helpe of your men to put that timber which I am to get from Glen-

the Inverness wooden bridge.[1] In 1754 Sir Ludovick Grant was paid £1000 for the oak trees of Ruiskich, and with the money paid the cost of erection of the present Castle Grant.[2] Between 1758 and 1763 the Laird of Glenmoriston realised £2000 from his woods.[3] In the beginning of the nineteenth century he drew about £800 a year from them;[4] and the timber trade from both divisions of the Parish has since continued to be an important source of revenue to laird and labourer.

Although the great bulk of the people have from a very early period been employed in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, a certain number have always found other fields of industry, such as the timber and bark traffic, and the trade in skins and furs, which at one time seems to have been considerable.[5] Some, too, were millers, armourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, weavers, shoemakers, or tailors.[6] At times attempts were made to start special

morristoune for the Cathedral Church of Ross in the water. I have therfore made bold onely to put you in mynde with the first diligence to cause doe it, for if it be not tymely done, this sommer is lost, and except I get your helpe the business is to no purpose. So wishing all health and happiness to your selfe, your noble lady, and hopefull children, I rest, your bounden seruand,

"Jo. Rossen.

"To the right worschipfull Sir Johne Grant of Freuchie, Knicht."

1 Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's Letters of Two Centuries, 76.

2 Lorimer's MS. of 1763. 3 Ibid.

4 Robertson's Agriculture in the County of Inverness, 208.

5 See note 2, p. 444 *supra*.

6 The following trades and occupations are mentioned in the legal proceedings in connection with the Great Raid of 1545:—clergyman, clerk, cleireach (church officer), dempster (the officer of court who pronounced doom), candych (ceannaich, merchant), gobha (smith, or armourer), dequeyre (dyker), tailor, shoemaker, forsar (forester), bowman (cow-man), and glassen (glazier).

industries. Lorimer records that about one hundred and thirty years before his time—that is, about the year 1630—"the Laird of Grant being informed there was a Copper Mine on this estate [Urquhart], opposite to Pitkerrald, laid out so much money in digging for it, and in vain, that he was obliged to sell the lands of Kilminnity, &c., to pay the debts contracted in this project. Another Laird after him spent a great deal on an Iron Manufactory there, yet succeeded as ill." The Iron Manufactory and its dams and passages are mentioned in 1634.[1] It probably consisted of bloomeries, traces of which are to be found at Lochnabat. Similar indications are found at Tornashee and Buntait. The birch woods of the district were cut down and utilized in smelting the iron—the ore being brought from the South, and sent back again in a manufactured state.[2] Lime has been made at Cartaly for ages.[3] Before 1756 the housewives of the Parish and their daughters deftly plied the distaff and spindle, and, with the assistance of local weavers, made cloth and linen for themselves and the men of their households. In that year the Trustees for Manufactories and

1 See foot note, p. 147 *supra*.

3 See Appendix C for Articles of Agreement between Sir James Grant and James Dollas as to lime kilns.

2 In 1769 Sir James Grant employed Mr John Williams, a mining engineer in the service of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, and the author of the first account of the vitrified fort of Craig Phadrick, to prospect Urquhart and Abriachan for copper, iron, or lead. Williams carefully examined earth and stream, and found "iron-stone," "specks of lead," and "jaspar-stone," but not in sufficient quantities to pay working expenses. At Cartaly about sixteen different minerals, some of them extremely rare, have been discovered within recent years. The following analyses of ten of them,

Fisheries in Scotland acquired from Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston 107 acres of land at Invermoriston, and erected a linen and woollen factory, which was for years maintained out of the proceeds of the Forfeited Estates, giving employment to a number of people, including about forty women.[1] Before this time there were no spinning wheels in the Parish; but the Trustees distributed some among the people, and in a few years they entirely superseded the ancient distaff and spindle. In 1791 the factory was closed, and its site re-conveyed to the proprietor of Glenmoriston; and the buildings have ever since been used as offices in connection with the home farm.[2]

About the time of the establishment of the factory at Invermoriston, the Laird of Grant erected a similar, but smaller, building at Kilmichael, and let it as a linen and woollen factory to Bailie Alex-

by Professor Heddle, of St Andrews, taken from the Transactions of the Inverness Field Club, vol. I., p. 180—see also p. 397—may be of interest to mineralogists:—

	Sp Gr	$\dot{S}i$	$\ddot{A}l$	$\dddot{F}e_2$	Fe	Mn	Ca	Mg	$\dot{K}_2$	$\dot{N}a_2$	$\dot{H}_2$	Total.
Hyd. Anthophyllite	2.81	42.72	3.84	.18	5.74	.16	5.64	28.75	.19	.26	7.65	100.12
Wollastonite	2.72	49.06	.6	—	—	—	42.01	—	1.01	2.73	3.1	99.51
Kyanite	—	37.53	58.11	2.09	—	—	.13	.08	.25	.74	1.2	100.11
Edenite, Green	—	50.31	8.54	.12	2.76	.08	11.63	20.77	.5	1.16	4.13	99.99
,, Black	—	51.31	2.21	.16	7.66	.49	11.17	20.87	2.2	.46	2.12	99.65
Tremolite	—	57.31	3.68	1.08	3.23	.31	12.36	16.62	—	—	2.5	100.08
Biotite	2.87	33.69	17.66	.25	12.95	—	1.16	17.54	8.92	.13	2.14	99.44
Andesine	2.67	58.38	22.5	2.12	—	.15	5.34	—	3.2	5.21	3.41	100.31
Scapolite	3.004	45.9	27.37	tr	2.95	—	20.21	.31	.32	.58	2.09	99.73
Zoisite	3.1	39.6	31.08	—	2.07	.08	23.34	tr	.57	1.06	2.41	100.2

1 Pennant's Tour in Scotland in 1769, p. 181.

2 See Appendix Q for Account of the business done at the Factory in 1764, and Account of the distribution of wheels and reels in 1764-65.

ander Shaw, of Inverness—the same who managed the Invermoriston concern. "The gentlemen's wives," writes Lorimer, in 1763, "make linen at home for the use of their families, but sell none. The tenants both make and sell linen; but the greatest part of the yarn spun in Urquhart is sold to Bailie Shaw, though there are perhaps a dozen weavers in Urquhart. The Manufactory [at Kilmichael] is on the decay. Bailie Shaw has dismissed almost all his servants; but the spirit of spinning will remain, and the tenants will sell their yarn at Inverness, where the merchants will provide them with seed lint." Through the good offices of Sir James Grant, a fresh start was given to the little establishment, and, although the manufacture of linen has long ago ceased, it has ever since continued to flourish in its own small way as a woollen factory.

Ale was brewed by the good wives of our Parish from very early times, and the brew-house of Kilmichael was in the sixteenth century so important a property that it was specially mentioned in the grant of Achmonie to the Mackays. For centuries, probably, it had yielded a valuable revenue to the Church. During the seventeenth century whisky began to take the place of ale, and so great did the demand for the spirit become that the leading men in the Parish started small stills on their own account. "Shewglie, Lochletter, Corrimony, Dulshangie, Peter Mackay in Polmaily, John Macdonald in Achmonie, and William Macdonald in Temple," says Lorimer, "distill spirits, and all

except Corrimony and John Macdonald use the Laird's woods for the distillery. They should not be allowed to take so much as a rotten stick for this purpose. Above 150 bolls of bere will be yearly distilled by these people in spirits, besides what bere grows on their own farms. If these people will brew and distill, they should pay something for fire, of which none should be wood." The tenants, he states elsewhere, "not only distill into aquavita what barley grows to themselves, but they import and distill a great deal more." The result of stringent revenue laws was to suppress these small distilleries, and give rise to illegal distillation, and to a brisk illicit trade which continued till far into the nineteenth century. A licensed brewery was erected within that century at Lewistown, and another at Balnain. The latter entirely disappeared years ago. In the former beer and porter are still sold; but none manufactured.

The industrial progress of the people was in the past greatly retarded by the want of convenient means of transit and communication. From earliest times a "road" led from Inverness by Dunain and Caiplich to Upper Drumbuie, where it branched off into two—one branch running westward to Strathglass, Kintail, and Lochalsh, and the other across the Strath of Urquhart, and on, by Clunemore and the south-eastern flank of Mealfuarvonie, to Glenmoriston, Glengarry, and Lochaber. This was the road by which English and Scottish knights and soldiers travelled between Inverness and Urquhart

in the days of Edward the First, and which was taken by many a clan and military expedition in later times. The Laird of Grant's charter of 1509 bound him to improve it. It is possible he did so; but it was never more than a rough track, sufficient, perhaps, to meet the requirements of the time—the passage of men and horses and cattle and sledges. When wheeled carts were introduced about the middle of the eighteenth century, better means of communication became necessary; and to the Good Sir James belongs the credit of making the first road to Urquhart fit for wheeled vehicles. It ran along the shore of Loch Ness, and its course is to some extent followed by the present highway, which was engineered by Telford, and constructed by the Highland Roads and Bridges Commissioners in the early years of the nineteenth century. Sir James secured the co-operation of the other proprietors in Urquhart in opening up the country, and the present roads to Corrimony and other districts are the result. The first road in Glenmoriston was that made by General Wade from Fort-Augustus to Aonach, and on to Kintail and Glenelg. The present Glenmoriston road, which follows the line of an older track, was the work of the Roads and Bridges Commissioners, who also erected the handsome bridges which cross the Moriston at Invermoriston and Torgoil. We have seen how the Rev. Robert Monro was, in 1677, unable to attend to his duties in Glenmoriston for the reason that there was no bridge on the river, and "no boat to transport him to his charge." His flock managed to do

without such conveniences. "This river, that divides Glenmoriston into two parts," writes Lorimer, "is so deep in every part as not to be fordable for men or horses, and, there being no boats on it, every child from eight years of age learned to swim. This shows the effects of necessity, by which many difficult things are rendered very easy."[1]

Loch Ness was an important medium of transit and communication at an early period. We have seen that it was used for the floating of timber. It was in one of the coracles of the time that St Columba sailed against the wind when returning from the court of the Pictish king. We find "great boats" on the Loch in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the latter century Cromwell's soldiers launched upon it their famous frigate.[2] After The Fifteen General Wade built at Fort-Augustus the "Highland Galley," a vessel of twenty-five or thirty tons, which, with its successors, continued to run from end to end of the Loch until the partial opening of the Caledonian Canal in 1818. In 1822 the first steamboat passed from sea to sea, and a steamship traffic was thus started which has now attained considerable magnitude.

It was one of the rules of Highland hospitality that if a traveller asked for bed and board for a night his request was granted, no questions being put as to whence he had come or where he was

1 Bridges are mentioned in the Urquhart charter of 1509. Drumnadrochit (the Ridge of the Bridge) is mentioned in 1730, showing that there was a bridge there before that period.

2 See p. 170 *supra*.

going, or whether he was a friend or foe. But as travelling became more common, gratuitous entertainment ceased to be entirely relied on, and small inns or hostelries began to arise. The first establishment of the kind in our Parish was the brew-house at Kilmichael, which, as we have seen, was a place of some consequence in the sixteenth century. Before 1763 an inn was opened at Drumnadrochit, which was in that year under lease to James Grant of Shewglie, who also "farmed" the brew-house from Mackay of Achmonie, "in order to prevent disputes." In 1779 Sir James Grant acquired the brew-house along with the estate of Achmonie, and it ceased to exist. The change-house of Drumnadrochit continued to prosper, and it is now a large establishment, and a favourite summer resort.[1]

After the time of General Wade, and perhaps for some time before it, there was a small inn at Aonach in Glenmoriston, which was discontinued many years ago when the present inn at Torgoil was opened.[2] At Aonach Samuel Johnson and his friend Boswell passed a night in 1773. "Early in the afternoon," records the sage, "we came to Anoch, a village in Glenmollison [*sic*] of three huts, one of which is distinguished by a chimney. Here we were to dine and lodge, and were conducted through the first room, that had the chimney, into another lighted by a small glass window. The landlord attended us with great civility, and told us what he could give us to eat and drink. I found some books on a shelf,

1 See Appendix R for effusions from the Drumnadrochit Visitors' Book.

2 Torgoil has, since 1893, been closed.

among which were a volume or more of Prideaux's Connection. This I mentioned as something unexpected, and perceived that I did not please him. I praised the propriety of his language, and was answered that I need not wonder, for he had learned it by grammar. . . . As we came hither early in the day, we had time sufficient to survey the place. The house was built, like other huts, of loose stones, but the part in which we dined and slept was built with turf and wattled with twigs, which kept the earth from falling. Near it was a garden of turnips and a field of potatoes."[1]

The Inn of Invermoriston was probably later in origin than that of Aonach. At Ruiskich a small change-house was erected during the construction of Telford's road; but it has now been closed.

In 1763, according to Lorimer, the tenants and mailers lived in turf-roofed houses, the walls of which were constructed of turf, timber, and wicker work. It took centuries to arrive at that stage of comparative perfection. In Lorimer's time the lairds had already

[1] "Some time after dinner," adds Johnson, "we were surprised by the entrance of a young woman, not inelegant either in mien or dress, who asked us whether we would have tea. We found that she was the daughter of our host, and desired her to make it. Her conversation, like her appearance, was gentle and pleasing. We knew that the girls of the Highlands were all gentlewomen, and treated her with great respect, which she received as customary and due, and was neither elated by it, nor confused, but repaid my civilities without embarrassment, and told me how much I honoured her country by coming to survey it. She had been at Inverness to gain the common female qualifications, and had, like her father, the English pronunciation. I presented her with a book which I happened to have about me, and should not be pleased to think that she forgets me." Boswell, in his Journal of the Tour, states that the host, whose name was M'Queen, was "out" in The Forty-Five. The book which Johnson gave to the host's daughter was *Cocker's Arithmetic*, which he had purchased at Inverness.

prohibited the use of timber for walls, and the result was that the people began to build drystone walls, about four or five feet in height. These in time gave place to stone-and-lime walls; and the buildings have gradually improved until the old black houses have now all but disappeared, and given place to neat, comfortable cottages, stone-and-lime built, and roofed with slate. The dwelling-houses of the lairds and the houses of Balmacaan, Shewglie, and Lochletter, were probably stone built as early as the sixteenth century, and the Castle was a marvel of substantial masonry as early as the thirteenth. It was not, however, till the seventeenth century that turf and heather gave place to slate on the roof of the residence of the lairds of Glenmoriston; and slate was first used by the proprietors of Corrimony in 1740, when the Old House—the oldest dwelling now in the Parish—was erected. In 1761 and 1762 the present houses of Lochletter and Shewglie were respectively built, and covered with slate; and before the end of the century the Manse, and the houses of Lakefield, Dulshangie, and Polmaily, were roofed with the same material.[1]

[1] Large sums have been expended by the proprietors of the Parish on dwelling-houses, offices, roads, &c., within recent years. The late John Charles, Earl of Seafield, who succeeded in 1853, and died in 1881, did much in the way of improvements on his Urquhart estate, and his policy was followed by his son, who died in 1884, and has been continued by his widow, the present [1893] proprietrix—with the result that from Whitsunday, 1853, to Whitsunday, 1892, £36,595 has been expended by the Seafield family on tenants' holdings on the Urquhart estate; £29,171 10s 2d on general estate improvements, including buildings, fences, roads, and bridges; £12,547 16s on Balmacaan mansion house and offices; and £26,118 6s 4d on woods and plantations—making a total expenditure of £104,432 12s 6d in thirty-nine years.

The maintenance of law and order was not left to chance or neglect in the Olden Times. The old Celtic laws and rules—the most striking features of which were *eric*, or compensation for death or injury, and the right of sanctuary[1]—prevailed probably until the fourteenth century, when the feudal baron courts were established. The domain of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, with the exception of Achmonie, was erected into a barony early in the fourteenth century, and was raised to the dignity of a lordship a hundred years later. Achmonie—as well as Abriachan, just outside the Parish—was situated in the ecclesiastical barony of Spynie, erected in 1451, and subsequently in the smaller barony of Kinmylies, within the regality of Spynie. In 1509 the original barony of Urquhart was divided into the three new baronies of Urquhart, Corrimony, and Glenmoriston; and in the next century Urquhart and Corrimony were included in the regality of Grant. The baron court was presided over by the baron himself, or, more generally, by his baron-bailie, or factor, as his deputy. In the administration of justice, the jurisdiction of the

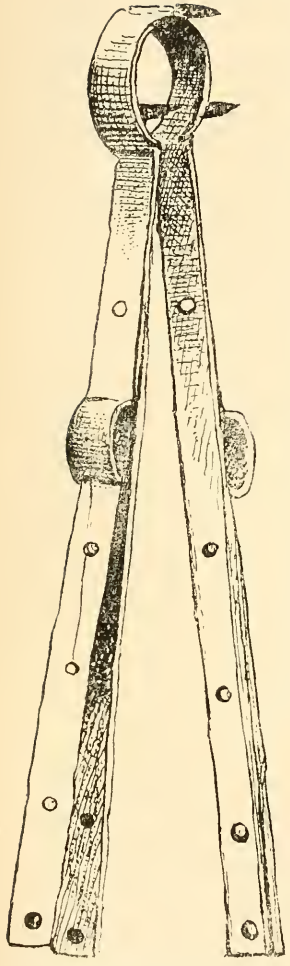
[1] The chapels were sanctuaries for such as sought refuge from the vengeance of their fellow men until they were brought to a fair trial; but the great sanctuary in the Parish was *An Abait*—The Abbey—lying between Ballintombuy and Dulchreichard, in Glenmoriston. The Abbey consisted of an island in the small tarn of Lochan-a'-Chrois—the Lochlet of the Cross—and the surrounding land extending from Tomchraskie to Tomnacroich, and from Mam-a'-Chrois to Ruigh-a'-Chrois—bounds said to have been indicated at one time by crosses. This district was probably the "Kirk lands" of Glenmoriston, mentioned in 1572. See footnote, p. 117 *supra*. According to tradition, the Abbey was respected as a sanctuary until a comparatively recent period.

baron or his bailie was absolute and almost universal. He sentenced to death offenders within the barony for murder or theft,[1] and he fined or imprisoned them for assaults, for killing deer or other protected wild animals, or for cutting or barking trees, or destroying green sward. He made rules for the regulation of agriculture and trade, and for the protection of growing timber; and he fixed the wages of servants and the prices of commodities. He granted decrees of removing against tenants, and judgments for rents and other debts; and he generally decided between man and man on the countless questions which arose in the past, as they arise in the present. The tenantry were obliged to attend his court, which was opened, conducted, and closed with much pomp and formality. For failure in this duty they were liable in pecuniary penalties, which, with the fines paid by criminal offenders, went into the pocket of the baron. Reference has been made to the singular manner in which, by the charters of 1509, the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were divided. The effect on the administration of justice was very curious before the consolidation of the scattered fragments which made up the several baronies. The few persons who inhabited Cluanie, on the borders of Kintail, and the inhabitants of Carnoch and Kerrownakeill, on the marches of Strathglass, were, along with those of the other

1 The places of execution were, Craigmonie in Glen-Urquhart, and Tomnacroich — the Gibbet Knoll — in Glenmoriston. The descendants of the last man hanged on Craigmonie are still known in Urquhart.

lands included in the Urquhart barony, subject to the jurisdiction of the Urquhart court, which sat at the Castle, or elsewhere within the barony, the more serious cases among them being, however, sometimes sent to Castle Grant for trial.[1] The inhabitants of Corrimony, and of the detached Corrimony lands of Achintemarag, Divach, and Pitkerrald-croy, received justice, for a time, at Corrimony; and those of Glenmoriston and the detached Glenmoriston possessions of Culnakirk (including Easter Milton) and Half of Clunemore, in Glenmoriston; while the people of Achmonie had to appear at Spynie or Kinmylies. It has already been related how the proprietors found it expedient to mitigate the inconveniences that arose from this arrangement by readjusting their marches. It is doubtful, indeed, whether Corrimony offenders had not to appear before the Urquhart court ever after 1580,

[1] The courts were sometimes held at Balmacaan, sometimes at Pitkerrald, and latterly at Drumnadrochit. There is a field on the holding of Grotaig called Druim-na-Cuirt—the Ridge of the Court—where probably courts were held. John Grant of Glenmoriston, chamberlain and baron-bailie for the Laird of Grant, writes from Balmacaan, in 1624, to the Laird thus:—"Your virscheip sall resaue [receive] the man that sleue your serwand Donll Pyper fra the beareris, for I thocht meitter till send him till your selff, nor till gif him the lawe heir." Until the beginning of this century, a paid piper was kept in Urquhart. "There has always," says Lorimer, "been a Piper in Urquhart belonging to the Family of Grant, whose sallary has been constantly paid by a small portion of oats from each tenant. The tenants want to get free of this Tax, but it is submitted whether or not it is not better to continue it, as the Tax is small, and, being in use to be paid, it is not very sensibly felt. If you let it drop, the Highland Musick is lost, which would be a great loss in case of a civil or foreign War; and such Musick is part of the Appendages of the Dignity of the Family. The commons are much pleased with this Musick, and the use of it will be a means of popularity amongst some."



THE GLENMORISTON IRON FILLORY FOR NECK AND WRISTS.

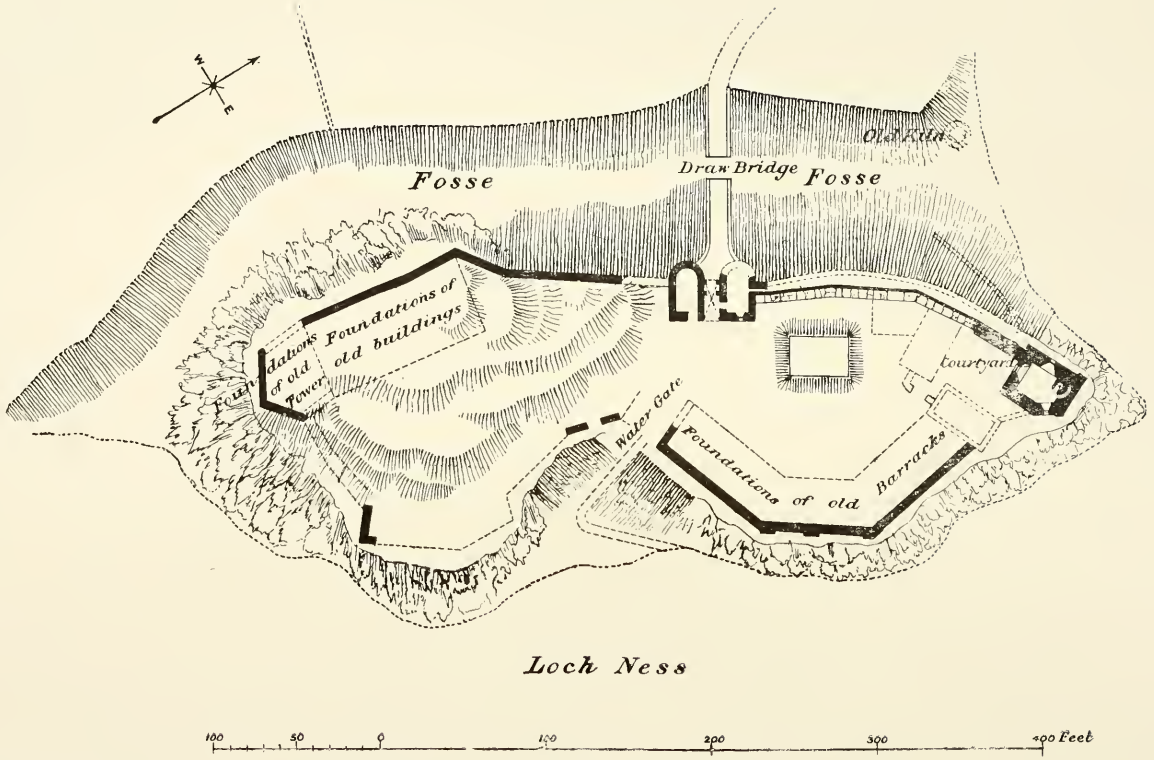
when the superiority of Corrimony was conveyed to the lairds of Grant. One result of The Forty-Five was that the jurisdiction of baron courts was greatly curtailed by Parliament, and although they for some time continued as a shadow of their old selves, none has for many years past been held in our Parish. They left offenders against the Seventh Commandment to the tender mercies of the church courts, and guilty persons, clothed in sackcloth and sitting on the stool of repentance, were solemnly dealt with in presence of the congregation. If meet repentance did not follow, they were liable to excommunication. The church courts, too, until the end of the seventeenth century, took cognisance of such matters as divorce, conjugal quarrels, and slander; and the session administered the fund for the poor, which was raised from church collections, private contributions, and fines paid by breakers of the moral law.[1]

1 See Appendix S as to the poor, and wandering "fools."

Did space permit some account might be given of the sports and recreations of our forefathers, and their customs in connection with births, christenings, marriages, and deaths, and with Beltane, Halloween, Christmas, and the New Year. These, however, did not differ materially from those of the Highlands generally, regarding which much has been recorded by other writers. Great changes have taken place within recent times. The long christening and marriage rejoicings have been discontinued, and so have piping and dancing at lykewakes, and excessive feasting and drinking and consequent fighting at funerals.[1] The *ceilidh*, with its tales, and songs, and riddles, and amusements, has given place to the newspaper, with its serial story and political and general news. Comfortable houses have superseded the huts of the past. The tiller of the soil is no longer satisfied with its bare produce, but buys large quantities of tea, wheaten bread, and

[1] Many stories might be told of fights at funerals, but one will suffice. A small upright stone by the road-side near Livisie marks the grave of an old woman who lived and died on the opposite side of the river. After her funeral crossed the river, the men of the Braes of Glenmoriston proposed that she should be carried *west* to Clachan Mheircheird, while the Invermoriston men insisted that she should be taken *east* to Clachan Cholumchille. A fight resulted, and several persons were killed—and then the survivors solved the question at issue by burying the body where they were. The Urquhart and Glenmoriston men have always been a fighting race. When they were not engaged against a common foe they fought among themselves—Urquhart fought with Glenmoriston, the Braes of Urquhart with the Strath, the upper district of Glenmoriston with the lower, and the Grants with such as were not of that name. The old spirit, it must be confessed, has not yet entirely died out. See Appendix T for papers referring to an amusing feud in 1737 between the Grants and other Urquhart men regarding the marriage of an Urquhart heiress.

other stuffs. He no longer tans his own leather, or makes his own shoes and harness—no longer grows his own flax, or makes his own linen and cloth. The old fir candles have given place to paraffin lamps; and in the lower districts coal has almost entirely superseded peat as fuel. Some of the changes are improvements: others are not. But, while we regret the disappearance of many a kindly custom and pleasant feature of the past, we must also acknowledge the greater security of life and property and the more liberal measure of knowledge and prosperity and physical comfort that belong to the present. On these points, at least, the rebuke of the ancient Preacher may still be taken to heart. "Say not thou," said he to the discontented Israelites who looked back to a golden age which had never existed—"Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this."



GROUND PLAN OF THE CASTLE—1893.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A (Page 26)

Description of Urquhart Castle, by Alexander Ross, LL.D., F.R.I.B.A., F.G.S., Provost of Inverness [in 1893]

The Castle is built on the rocky promontory of Strone, which is separated from the hill of Cnoc-na-h-Iolaire by a low-lying neck of land. The promontory is further cut off from the mainland by a dry moat about 80 feet wide, and of considerable depth, forming with the natural escarpment of the rock on which the Castle stands a very effectual defence, the height from the bottom of the moat to the base of the walls of the Castle varying from 30 to 50 feet. The moat does not seem to have been cut down to the level of the loch, and now its original depth is very much reduced by the large quantity of *debris* which has fallen into it.

Passing along the neck of land and over the moat, we reach the rock on which the Castle stands—a mass of sandstone conglomerate, about 500 feet long by 160 broad, and having an area of about two acres. The general conformation resembles an hour-glass, the longer axis lying S.W. and N.E. The surface of the rock is very rugged and uneven, standing at the north end from 20 to 30 feet out of the water, while at the south it reaches a height of about 80 feet. The rock stood about 6 feet higher out of the water before the Caledonian Canal operations raised the level of the loch. It presents a precipitous face all round, except at the centre of the east side facing the loch, where there is an indentation, with a gravelly slope down to a small cove, which forms a convenient landing place for boats. Here stood the water gate, the landward entrance being opposite to it on the western side. The Castle was approached from the land by a raised roadway between two parapet walls, which, at a point about 60 feet from the main gateway, crossed the moat by a drawbridge 15 feet wide. From the drawbridge there is a rise of about 6 feet to the gateway. The approach from the bridge to the gate does not strike directly on the doorway, but on the northern tower, which commanded the approach, and prevented a direct rush at the gate.

The old gate-house must have been an imposing structure, measuring about 40 feet by 50 on plan, and rising two stories in height. The gateway is in the centre, and is flanked by massive round towers on either side, 21 feet in diameter. The portal was a circular arch about 9 feet 9 inches wide, and immediately in front of it are the grooves for the portcullis, with a bartizan and window over.

The entrance leads through a long vaulted passage in the gate-house, with stone arch ribs, at intervals, of carefully dressed freestone. On the ground on either side of this passage are the guard-rooms, each measuring 25 feet, by 13 feet, with corresponding vaulted rooms over. These rooms are finished with semi-circular ends, forming externally the flanking towers before referred to.

From the chamber on the north side of the gateway opens a second chamber, with the remains of a stair leading to the ramparts, and probably also to the passage to the sallyport on the north side of the main gate; but this part is much dilapidated, and the arrangements are not quite clear. The mason work of the gate-house and adjoining walls is very good, the finishings, quoins, arch ribs, &c., being of well-dressed freestone. The mortar also is remarkable, for though the building has evidently been destroyed by gunpowder, and large masses thrown into the air and made to turn complete somersaults, yet there is a large portion of the circular wall, portcullis case, chimney flues, and curtain wall, lying as it fell in a complete unbroken mass in front of the gateway.

Passing through the arched passage we reach the outer bailey or court, and in front of us on the opposite side is the water gate leading down to the small cove before referred to. On our right the rock rises towards the S.W. about 30 or 40 feet to a platform on which there seems to be some traces of a pentangular tower or other building for defence. The curtain wall on the west side from the gateway is pretty complete all the way to the extreme height at the south end. Traces of foundations are also to be seen leading along the south and east (or loch) side of the plateau, and there seems to have been detached towers or guard-rooms at various points, connected by curtain walls—portions of which still stand, and the foundations of the remainder of which can be traced all along the edge of the cliff. Continuing along the eastern face, we come to the water gate, which is a small door or postern in the outer main wall which was carried continuously round the edge of the plateau. At this point a division wall appears to have run across the narrow waist of the fortress, separating the

outer from the inner court. In the inner court next the donjon were situated the larger portion of the barracks and domestic buildings, remains of which are still seen, some of them being clay-built, of inferior construction, and of comparatively recent date. The outer walls here converge towards the donjon, giving this court a triangular shape.

The donjon tower stands at the apex, or extreme N.E. end of the triangle, and measures externally 40 feet, by 36 feet, and is about 50 feet high. The walls of three sides only remain, those of the southern face having completely disappeared, excepting a small portion of the ground floor immediately over the vault.[1] The tower consists of four storeys. Underground is the vault, which measures 16 feet 6 inches by 14 feet 6 inches, and is entered from a small postern on the N.E. face. In the vault there is a small loop-hole or window, which opens under the entrance doorway from the court to the tower. From the north side of the recess between the postern gate and the entrance to the vault rises a small stair to the hall above. The floor of the hall is level with the court, from which it is entered by a door on the west side. From the hall a wheeling stair leads to the next apartment over, and thence to the third storey, the roof of which was vaulted in stone at the level of the parapet walls, as evidenced by the portion of vault still remaining on the north side. Under this arch is the only fireplace discoverable in the keep of the Castle. A roof chamber probably existed over the vaulted one, but as no part of this remains, we can only conjecture the use made of the roof space.

Fortunately, enough remains of the walls, corbelling, and turrets to enable us to judge of the general character and style of finish. The tower had square turrets projecting about a foot over the walls at the four angles. These turrets were finished with gables and saddle-back roofs. The corbelling ran round the tower, and a bartizan projected over the main doorway, with machicolations through which missiles were discharged. As the plan of site shows, the tower was not square, but five-sided, a portion of the eastern face being curtailed to suit the contour of the rock on which it is founded.

From the N.E. angle of the tower ran the great wall of the fortress right up to the main gateway, and thence on to the S.W. angle, thus presenting a strong and continuous barrier on the landward side. From the keep to the gateway the walls are still well preserved, being of great thickness, with battlements, and path along top.

1 See p. 511, footnote 3.

A curious knoll or mound is raised in the centre of the court between the gateway and the keep, the top being rectangular in form and about 30 feet high. Whether it is the site of a chapel or place of execution it is difficult to say. There are apparent traces of the foundations of a building on it.

The Castle, having a life of 600 years at least, has no doubt undergone many changes, and has had large portions of its walls built and rebuilt during its existence. It is therefore difficult to assign exact dates to the various parts; but, judging from architectural evidence, the oldest portions now standing are the donjon tower, the gateway, the curtain walls on the land side, and some fragments of walls on the south-east side, particularly near the water gate and thence on to the tower. These probably belong to the period of Edward the First, although I am inclined to think that the tower itself has undergone some modification in its upper work since that period.

The barracks built in the inner court and against the east wall, and indicated by dotted lines on the plan, are distinctly of later date, and may have been the work of John the Bard, who was taken bound by his charter of 1509 to execute certain improvements. (See page 79 *supra*).

APPENDIX B (Pages 97 and 98)

1. DETAILS OF SPOIL TAKEN FROM GLENMORISTON IN OCTOBER, 1544

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dimmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
Little Invermoriston.																	
1. John Grant of Glenmoriston	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	20	10	0	0
2. John McIldonycht McEane boy	12	5	3	3	1	10	10	...	12	20	10	...	20	6	1	0	0
3. John McCowane	8	3	2	1	...	10	...	...	8	10	8	...	8	3	1	6	8
Total from Glenmoriston... ...	20	8	5	4	1	20	10	...	20	30	18	...	88	29	12	6	8

II. DETAILS OF SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545

(A) Borlum (including Clunebeg, Borlum, Strone, and Boglashin).																	
1. Kenneth McGillepatrik & Donald Dow, his son	10	7	7	8	...	24	...	...	16	20	10	...	60	16	4	0	0
2. John McWille[m]	4	3	3	2	...	15	...	4	8	16	8	...	10	5	2	0	0
3. Ewen Bane, tailor	8	4	7	1	...	12	...	...	10	5	7	...	8	6	2	0	0
4. John Makmul, Bowman...	5	3	...	2	...	7	...	3	4	9	6	...	4	2	1	0	0
5. William McDonald	4	3	4	2	...	22	...	...	16	10	7	...	12	30	1	6	8
6. John Fage	6	5	3	2	...	10	...	4	6	12	...	...	12	6	2	0	0
7. Gillespik Mc conquhy glas	10	5	4	3	...	20	...	6	13	16	8	22	60	10	4	0	0
8. Muldonych Lay	4	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	30	16	...	20	6	1	0	0
9. William McCowane	6	4	2	2	...	12	...	4	12	14	10	...	12	6	2	13	4
10. John McGillecrist	5	3	2	1	...	24	...	...	16	...	6	...	12	6	1	6	8
11. Donald McHucheon	6	4	3	3	...	20	...	8	8	16	6	...	16	7	1	0	0
12. Muldonych McNeill	8	3	3	5	...	30	...	10	15	20	13	...	60	18	1	0	0

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued)*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dinmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
Borlum *(Continued)*.																	
13. McIldonych McGillecrist	7	4	...	6	...	16	8	...	20	20	16	...	60	16	2	0	0
14. Donald Keir	10	5	4	6	...	40	...	...	20	10	8	...	40	16	4	0	0*
15. Patrik McFindlaw	8	4	2	3	...	14	...	5	16	10	6	...	...	...	1	6	8
16. Duncan Glas	5	4	2	2	...	16	...	...	10	16	6	...	16	16	1	6	8
17. Gillecallum McGillecrist	10	5	3	3	2	50	...	...	20	24	...	...	60	20	3	6	8
18. Donald McGillecallum	9	...	4	4	...	20	...	10	16	16	8	...	40	16	1	10	0
19. Gillecallum McComlwque	10	5	4	...	...	16	8	...	...	...	...	...	30	20	6	13	4
20. William Clerk	8	4	3	5	...	20	10	...	20	60	8	...	16	20	3	6	8
21. John McFre	4	...	3	1	...	8	...	...	6	10	6	...	8	4		...	
Total from Borlum	147	78	65	64	2	396	26	54	252	334	155	22	556	246	46	16	8
(B) Divach (including south side of Glen Coilty).																	
1. John McNeill	16	8	6	6	...	26	...	...	20	30	16	...	60	16	4	0	0
2. Finlay McGillecallum	4	3	2	1	...	8	...	...	4	12	8	...	8	4	1	0	0
3. McEane McConquhy	30	10	8	8	...	30	...	...	20	40	30	40	80	30	6	13	4†
Total from Divach	50	21	16	15	...	64	...	...	44	82	54	40	148	50	11	13	4
(C) Wester Bunloit (including Wester Grotaig, Inchtelloch, and Ruiskich).																	
1. Donald owr McEane McFindlaw	6	4	2	1	...	6	2	...	4	16	10	...	10	6	1	0	0
2. Ferquhard McSorle	6	4	2	1	...	10	4	...	5	8	8	...	10	4	1	0	0
3. John Mcgillecrist moir Meinfuttir	6	3	2	2	...	6	2	...	4	16	10	...	10	6	1	0	0
4. Katherine nyne wikyne...	3	2	...	1	...	6	4	...	5	8	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Total from Wester Bunloit ...	21	13	6	5	...	28	12	...	18	48	28	...	30	16	4	0	0

* Also 60 ells cloth of linen and woollen. † Also 24 geese.

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued)*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dimmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
(D) Mid Bunloit (including Easter Grotaig, Balbeg, Inchconachar, and Tighnaherrick).																	
1. John Mcinlustie	10	5	...	6	...	20	...	...	16	28	16	...	60	20	1	0	0
2. John Bane McGilleglas	22	8	8	6	...	20	10	...	16	26	16	...	40	20	2	0	0
3. Donald Mcilroy	31	8	6	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	60	20	4	0	0
4. John McEane McWilliame	6	3	2	2	...	18	...	...	12	20	10	...	10	6	1	0	0
5. Donald Mcane Bayne	20	8	8	6	...	20	...	...	12	20	10	30	80	30	4	0	0
6. Gillemartyne McConnell moir	20	6	6	6	...	12	...	...	10	20	10	...	60	20	4	0	0
Total from Mid Bunloit	112	38	30	31	4	90	10	...	66	114	62	60	310	116	16	0	0
(E) Easter Bunloit (including Lower Bunloit, Achnahannet and Leny).																	
1. Gillespek McNeill	12	6	3	6	...	12	8	...	10	20	10	...	40	20	5	6	8
2. John moir McGillefatrik	20	10	6	6	...	17	12	...	16	24	...	...	60	24	5	0	0
3. Paul McGlassen	5	2	1	1	...	12	8	...	5	12	6	...	8	4	1	0	0
4. John McEwyr	6	2	2	2	...	8	4	...	8	20	10	...	12	8	1	0	0
5. McGillecallum Mcowyne eir	5	3	2	2	...	6	4	...	4	...	...	...	12	4	1	0	0
6. Gillimichael McFyndlaw McGillicroy	10	4	3	2	...	10	6	...	10	12	...	...	12	5	1	0	0*
7. Donald McEane McFerquhard	8	4	2	2	...	15	6	...	10	12	6	...	12	4	0	13	4
Total from Easter Bunloit ...	66	31	19	21	...	80	48	...	63	100	32	...	156	69	15	0	0
(F) Balmacaan (including north side of river Coilty, and from Lochness to Drumclune, on south side of Enerick).																	
1 John Grant	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	120	60		...	
2. Donald McEane McGilleis	30	8	8	...	...	12	...	6	16	16	6	...	...	...	3	6	8

* Also cloth, value £1.

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued).*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dinmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
Balmacaan *(Continued).*																	
3. Finlay owr	24	8	6	9	...	20	...	...	12	16	8	...	60	30	8	0	0*
4. Ewen Candych	2	1	2	1	...	5	...	...	5	12	6	...	8	4	1	0	0
5. Murchoc Breir	6	2	...	1	...	8	...	...	4	8	4	...	8	4		...	
6. Donald Dow	2	2	...	2	..	12	...	8	10	...	...	...	12	6	1	10	0
7. John McGowone	6	4	3	1	...	12	...	...	6	16	10	...	10	3	6	13	4
8. John McGillecallum	4	2	2	2	...	18	...	...	6	10	6	...	12	6	1	6	8
9. Ewen McConquhy	4	2	...	...	...	10	...	...	6	...	...	...	6	3	1	0	0
10. Donald McHucheon moir	6	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	4	1	0	0
11. Mr James Ferquharson [the Parish Priest] ...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	20	13	6	8
12. Gillemichell Mallycht	16	6	5	...	...	20	10	...	10	20	15	...	30	12	1	6	8
13. John McGillendris	8	3	3	4	...	10	...	...	6	8	5	...	24	12	2	0	0
14. Ewen McEwine	12	5	6	3	...	18	6	...	12	16	10	...	12	15	3	6	8
Total from Balmacaan	120	46	35	38	...	145	16	14	93	122	70	...	390	179	43	16	8
(G) Dulshangie (including Drumclune).																	
1. John McGilleis	8	16	24	6	...	20	10	...	16	...	...	...	100	40		...	
2. Donald McGillefatrik	20	5	6	5	...	24	...	...	10	10	6	...	30	12	2	0	0
3. Duncan McGillebread	14	4	3	2	...	10	...	...	5	10	10	...	12	4	1	6	8
4. Donald McCulloch	10	4	3	2	...	12	...	...	8	10	6	...	20	4	1	6	8
5. Duncan McKynnes	14	6	3	3	...	12	...	...	6	16	6	...	20	4	1	6	8
6. Duncan McIldonycht	6	4	1	...	...	10	...	...	5	...	...	...	6	4	1	6	8
7. Gillespik McEwyne	6	3	...	1	...	6	...	6	5	...	...	...	8	4	1	0	0
Total from Dulshangie	78	42	40	19	...	94	10	6	55	46	28	...	196	72	8	6	8

* Also £12 in money.

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued).*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dinmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
(H) Wester Inchbrine.																	
1. John Doy McGillemoir	40	5	10	8	...	15	...	...	10	20	12	...	60	30	3	6	8
2. Gillendreis	6	3	...	1	...	...	...	10	5	...	...	...	8	4	6	13	4
3. John McFyndlaw	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	*
Total from Wester Inchbrine ...	46	8	10	10	...	15	...	10	15	20	12	...	68	34	10	0	0
(I) Mid Inchbrine.																	
1. John McConquhy McIngowin	24	10	6	3	...	16	...	...	16	14	8	...	40	16	3	6	8
2. John McConnell McFarquhair	16	8	4	5	...	6	...	...	12	12	6	...	40	20	3	0	0
3. John McConnill McGilleis	6	3	2	2	...	14	...	...	6	12	6	...	8	4	1	6	8
4. Donald McFatrik	12	5	2	4	...	16	...	...	8	12	6	...	20	8	1	0	0
5. Ferquhard McConnill McFerquhard	10	3	3	4	...	...	...	24	10	12	6	...	22	10	0	14	0
Total from Mid Inchbrine ...	68	29	17	18	...	52	...	24	52	62	32	...	130	58	9	7	4
(J) Easter Inchbrine.																	
1. William McAlester Grant	10	8	4	4	4	20	4	...	12	24	10	...	80	30	6	0	0
2. William McPatrik McEane vayne	11	4	3	4	...	..	8	...	6	10	6	...	20	6	1	6	8
3. Donald McCristiane	6	3	3	1	...	7	...	...	8	10	8	...	8	4	1	6	8
4. Donald McFergus	12	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	12	6	...	16	8	2	0	0
Total from Easter Inchbrine ...	39	17	10	9	4	27	12	...	36	56	30	...	124	48	10	13	4
(K) Polmaily (including Achnababan).																	
1. William McGowyn	24	8	5	6	...	14	...	...	12	16	8	...	20	16	2	0	0
2. Duncan McWilliame	14	6	14	3	...	10	...	10	12	...	...	...	20	10	6	0	0
3. John Bane McConnil Mc in Gowyne	16	8	4	4	...	12	...	...	8	12	8	...	20	10	3	0	0

* Also 2 plough oxen.

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued).*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Weddders	Gimmers & Dimmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d.
Polmaily—*(Continued).*																	
4. Donald McFerquhare	8	3	4	3	...	12	...	...	6	12	8	...	20	10	1	6	8
5. Mary McKane McFale	8	4	2	1	...	12	...	...	6	10	6	...	...	...	..	..	
6. Duncan McFyulaw McGillemichaell	8	4	3	3	...	12	...	...	8	6	5	...	12	4	13	6	8
7. Baak, Gow roy's daughter	6	3	3	2	...	10	...	...	10	8	8	...	8	4	1	0	0
Total from Polmaily	84	36	35	22	...	82	...	10	62	64	43	...	100	54	26	13	4
(L) Cartaly (extending from Polmaily to Culnakirk, and from the River to the Lovat march).																	
1. Bean McGilleis	60	20	12	10	...	50	...	...	30	30	60	...	100	20	6	13	4
2. Donald McHoustoun Gressik	6	4	3	3	...	10	...	...	6	12	6	...	20	12	1	6	8
3. John McCoill McKeane	8	3	2	2	...	10	...	...	6	12	6	...	20	6	1	0	0
4. Hustoun McClerich	2	1	...	1	...	10	...	...	5	20	10	...	10	6	1	0	0
5. Hustoun Meinclerich	10	6	4	4	...	16	4	...	12	10	8	...	20	10	1	6	8
Total from Cartaly	86	34	21	20	...	96	4	...	59	84	90	...	170	54	11	6	8
(M) Culnakirk (including Dalgrigack and Easter Milton).																	
1. John McEane McGilleis...	40	25	16	8	...	60	...	...	40	24	16	...	60	20	6	13	4
2. Donald McForsar	16	6	4	5	...	24	...	...	15	16	10	...	30	12	2	0	0
3. Duncan McForsar	...	...	..	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	0	13	4
4. John McFyndlaw	8	3	2	2	...	10	...	...	...	8	...	...	10	3	1	0	0
5. Donald McCewen Dow	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	
Total from Culnakirk	68	34	22	15	...	104	...	...	55	58	26	...	100	35	10	6	8

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued)*.

Holdings and Occupiers	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dinmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s.	d
(N) Achmonie (extending from Culnakirk to the Bull Burn, and from the River to Kiltarlity march).																	
1. John McGilleis	20	10	6	20	10	80	40	...	40	40	20	...	100	60	15	0	0*
2. John McDequeyre	20	10	6	4	...	20	...	...	10	12	6	...	20	16	8	0	0
3. Gillepatrik McFale	12	6	3	1	...	10	...	...	6	12	6	...	8	4	1	0	0
4. John McConquhy McGlassan	6	5	4	2	...	20	..	...	20	10	6	...	20	4	1	6	8
5. Donald McGillecrist	6	2	4	2	...	6	4	...	6	12	6	...	8	6	1	0	0
6. Pall McOwarte	6	4	2	1	...	...	...	10	6	6	5	...	6	2	1	0	0
Total from Achmonie	70	37	25	30	10	136	44	10	88	92	49	...	162	92	27	6	8
(O) Drumbuie (extending from the Bull Burn to the Burn of Drumbuie).																	
1. Gillandreis McGillemertyne	20	6	4	6	...	12	8	...	12	10	6	...	40	16	40	0	0
2. Donald Grasycht	8	4	3	4	...	10	...	...	6	20	10	...	40	15	1	6	8
3. Donald McGillendreis	10	5	3	3	...	...		10	6	12	8	...	40	6	0	14	0
4. John McGillendreis Candych	10	6	4	4	...	16	4	..	10	8	5	...	40	16	1	6	8
5. John Glas McCandycht	12	6	3	5	...	8	...	12	12	10	6	..	40	20	4	0	0
6. John McFatrik	8	3	3	4	...	20	...	...	12	8	6	...	30	8	1	6	8
7. John McFyndlaw wayne	6	3	3	3	...	10	...	...	6	6	4	...	40	10	1	0	0
8. John McEane McConnill	6	3	2	2	...	8	4	...	6	8	8	...	6	12	1	0	0
9. John Doy McEane McCoill	10	3	3	2	..	6	...	...	4	10	6	...	8	10	1	0	0
10. Gillendris Mc inCandycht	5	3	2	1	...	6	...	...	3	6	4	...	6	3	1	0	0
Total from Drumbuie	95	42	30	34	...	96	16	22	77	98	63	...	290	116	52	14	0

* Also 40 geese

SPOIL TAKEN FROM TENANTS IN GLEN-URQUHART IN APRIL AND MAY, 1545—*(Continued)*

Holdings and Occupiers.	Great Cattle	Calves	Young Cattle	Horses	Mares	Ewes	Wedders	Gimmers & Dimmonts	Lambs	Goats	Kids	Swine	Oats	Bear	Furniture		
													Bolls	Bolls	£	s	d.
(P) Kerrowgair (lying between the Burns of Drumbuie and Kerrowdown)																	
1. Alexander Dempstare	6	4	2	3	...	12	7	...	10	...	...	...	40	10	13	6	8
2. John McEwyn	10	4	2	2	...	10	...	...	6	...	...	...	12	8	1	0	0
3. Andrew Duff	4	4	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	10	1	6	8
4. Donald McEwyn Dow	6	2	2	2	...	10	6	...	8	...	...	...	20	10	3	0	0
Total from Kerrowgair	26	14	8	10	...	32	13	...	24	...	...	...	76	38	18	13	4
(Q) Kil St. Ninian (including Kerrowdown, Balnacraig, St. Ninian's, and Tychat).																	
1. John Glas McInnes	12	5	3	...	...	30	10	...	20	20	10	...	...	...	1	6	8
2. Fynlaw McJames	...	...	...	2	...	30	10	...	20	10	10	...	...	...		...	
Total from Kil St. Ninian... ...	12	5	3	2	...	60	20	...	40	30	20	...	...	...	1	6	8

In addition to the above the Laird of Grant appears to have been despoiled of the following crop and stock, which fall to be added to the totals given on page 98, viz. :—200 bolls of oats, with the fodder, 100 bolls bear, 100 great cattle, 100 calves, 40 young cattle, 10 one-year-old stirks, 8 horses, 4 mares, 4 young horses, 140 ewes, 60 gimmers and dimmonts, and 100 lambs. From the Castle was taken a large quantity of furniture, &c., including 12 feather beds, blankets, bolsters, sheets, pots, pans, brew caldrons, spits, 20 pieces of artillery, 10 stands of harness, 3 great boats, and money (see Chiefs of Grant, I., 112).

APPENDIX C (Pages 116, 442, and 451).

I. Lease by the Bishop of Moray to John Mackay and his Wife, of Achmonie. 1554. [Translated from the Latin, in MS. Register of Moray, in Advocates' Library.]

To all and sundry, sons of the mother Church, to whose notice these present letters may come, Patrick, by the mercy of God bishop of Moray and perpetual commendator of the abbey of Scone, health in the Lord everlasting: Wit ye us with express consent and assent and advice of the chapter of our Cathedral Church of Moray, chapterly assembled for the occasion, and the utility of us and of our said church of Moray being foreseen, meditated, considered, and understood, and diligent discussion and mature deliberation having been had beforehand, to have set, rented, let, and at feuferme dimitted to our lovites John McGilleis *alias* McKaye, and Katherine Euen Canycht his spouse, and the survivor of them, and their heirs and assignees and land labourers and sub-tenants, many or one, of no greater authority than themselves the principals John and Katherine, all and sundry our lands of Awchmonye, with the brew-house thereof called Killmichaell, with all and sundry their pertinents, lying within the barony of Kinmylies, regality of Spynie, and shire of Inverness, for all the terms and years of nineteen years, beginning at Whitsunday in the year of the Lord 1554, and thereafter continuing together and successively from year to year and term to term to the complete course and ish of nineteen years aforesaid: To hold and to have all and sundry the before-named lands of Awchmonye and brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, with all and sundry their pertinents lying as aforesaid, to the aforesaid John McGilleis *alias* McKaye and Katherine Euen Chanycht his spouse, and the survivor of them, and their heirs and assignees and subtenants and land labourers, many or one beforesaid, of us and our successors, bishops of Moray, for all and sundry terms of the said nineteen years, as the said lands with the pertinents do lie in length and breath due and wont, in houses and biggings, with culture and common pasture, free entry and ish, together with all other and sundry liberties, commodities, profits, and easements, and their just pertinents whatsoever, far and near, to the aforenamed lands, with the pertinents and brew-house thereof, belonging or that may in any way in future justly belong, full, quietly, wholly, honourably, well, and in peace, without any reserve, revocation, contradiction, or obstacle whatsoever: Rendering therefor yearly the said John McGilleis

alias McKaye and Katherine Euen Chanycht his spouse, and their foresaids, to us and our successors, one or more, and our and their chamberlains or factors, one or more, for the time, for the said lands of Awchmonye and brew-house thereof, with their pertinents, the sum of three pounds usual money of Scotland, three shillings and fourpence for two firlots of dry multure, and two kids, at the two usual terms of the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas in winter, by equal portions, with the other services due and wont from the said lands of Awchmonye and brew-house thereof, contained in the old rental: And we truly, the aforesaid Patrick, bishop of Moray, and our successors for the time being, do warrant, acquit, and for ever defend, all and sundry the aforesaid lands of Awchmonye and the brew-house thereof, with all and sundry their pertinents, lying as said is, to the said John McGilleis *alias* McKaye and Katherine Euen Canycht his spouse, and the longer liver of them, and their heirs and assignees, and their tenants and land labourers, one or more aforesaid, during the space and terms of nineteen years, as aforesaid. In witness of the which thing, our round seal, together with the common seal of our chapter of Moray, and the manual subscriptions of us and of the canons of our said chapter, are appended, at Elgin the 31st day of March 1554. Witnesses, John Gordon vicar of Kincardine and Rothimurchus, Sir James Douglas, Sir Alexander Douglas, chaplains, James Innes of Drany, Alexander Gordon in Achortes, Mr Hugh Cragye, Thomas Seres, and Sir John Gibsoun, notaries.

Pa. Moravien. epus. et de Scona c'me'datari'.
W. Pat'son subdecanus Morauien.
Gulielmus Hepburne rector de Dupill.
Thomas Haye rector de Spynie.
Jacobus Strathauchin rector de Botarie.
Thomas Wallace rectori de Unthank.
Thomas Gaderar de Talaricie.

II. Lease by the Laird of Grant to Donald Cumming of Dulshangie, of Meikle Pitkerrald. 1660. [From original at Castle Grant.]

Be It kend till all men be yir prnt lres [*i.e.*, these present letters,] Me James Grant off ffrewquhye to hawe sett, and in Tack and Assedatione Latten, Lykas be the tenor hereof I sett and in tack and assedatione Lett to dod. Cuming of dulsangzie and to his aires and assyneys of no higher degree then himselff is off, all and heall the plewghe and quarter of land of meikill

pitkerrel, presentlie possessed be dugall mc Rorie lait tennent of the same, withe the multures, teynds, great and small, parsonage and wiccaradge, of the same, withe housses, biggings, zairds, toftes, croftes, partes, pendicles, and remanent vniversall pertinents thereof, Lyand within the Lordship of wrqrt, parochin yroff and sheriffdom of Invernes: and that for all the dayes, yeires, space, and termes off fywe yeires nixt and imediatlie following the feast and term of Whitsunday last bypast in the zeir of God 1660 zeires, qlk shall be (God willing) his entrie to the sds lands and their pertinents be wertewe heirof, with ffrie Ishewe and entrie thereto, and with all and syndrie uther priviledges, easments, and ryghteous pertinents perteining or that shall be knowen to appertein thereto, weill, quietlie, and in peace, but [that is, without] anie obstacle or Impediment to be maid in the contrar: Payand therefor yeirlie the sd donald Cuming, likas be the tenor heirof he faithfullie Binds and obleisses him and his forsds to content and pay to the said James Grant or to his aires, exrs [executors], successors and assigneys, or to their chalmerland in their names, The number off Tuall bolls guid and sufficient wictuall, half meall half Bear, at anie place or part that the rest of the fermes of that countrie is payed at, and that preceislie at the feast and term of Candilsmaise nixt and Imediatlie following the shearing, winning, and Ingathering of the cropt, and failzieing of the sds Tuall bolls wictuall at the terme abow-speit [above specified], the pryces of the sam according to the feir and pryces payed be the remanent tennents of the countrie, at the termes of payment vsed and wount: Beginand the first zeires payt thereof at the feast and term of Candilsemaise 1661 yeires, and sua furthe zeirlie during the space forsd of fywe zeires: with ane halff custom mairt, ffour old wedders, Tuo yowng wedders heall hawed wn-clipped [*i.e.*, left wholly unshorn], Tuo stain weight of butter, sex henns, ffourtie sex shillings Scottis of land meal [mail or rent] and Stewart silver at the termes of payment vsed and wount, with service carriadge and harriadge [*i.e.*, service of carriage and ploughing] as the remanent of the tennentrie of wrqrt sall doe for anie quarter land yrof: Releiwand [relieving] the said James Grant and his forsds of the teynd and wiccaradge silwer [stipend] presentlie imposed or that shall be imposed on the sds lands: Moreover, the sd donald Cuming obleisses him and his forsds to Grind their cornis that growes on the sds lands at the sd James Grant his miln of wrqrt, and to discharge and doe all manner of dewtie thereto that anie uther quarter of land within the suckin of the sd miln is obleist to, according to vse and wount: And for the mair

securitie Bothe the sds pairties ar content and consents that thir prntis be insert and registrat in the high court books of Justice, shireff or commissar books of Invernes, or anie uther Judicatorie books withein this natione, that executiones of horning, poynding, and wthers necesser, may passe heiron vpon a singall charge of tenn dayes allenarlie, and to that effect constitutes our lawfull procurators: In witnes qr off, bothe the saids pairties have subscriwe thir pntis (wreitten be Mr Alexr. Grant, servitor to the sd James Grant) withe their hands, at Ballachastell [Castle Grant] the ffourtein day of June 1660 zeirs, befor thir witnesses, James wrqrt, Wm. Grant, and Duncan Grant, and the sd Mr Alexr. Grant, wreiter heirof, servitors to the said James Grant of frewquhie.

James Grant of freuquhye.
Donald Cumming.
James Urquhart, witnes.
D. Grant, witnes.
W. Grant, witnes.
Mr Alexr. Grant, wreiter and witnes.

III. Articles of Agreement between James Grant, Esquire of Grant [afterwards Sir James Grant], and James Dollas, Mason at Garthkeen. 1770. [From the original presented to the Author by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh.]

The said James Grant is to set to the said James Dollas the twelve bolls pay of Wester Gartaly and one bolls pay of Easter Gartaly called Carrachan [now Wester Milton] excepting the houses and croft taken off for the Milns, to be entered to at Whitsunday seventeen hundred and seventy, with liberty of subsetts as he shall find proper for the works aftermentioned, and for which ffarm the said James Dollas is to pay Twenty five pounds sterling of yearly Rent, Three Wedders and Reek Hens; and in respect of carrying on the Lymework aftermentioned the services are passed from; And the rent to be payable at the usual terms with the rest of the Estate; with allowance for building dykes as others, As also for putting up houses on the ffarm to the amount of Twenty five pounds sterling of melioration; And further the said James Dollas is to employ proper hands and with them to carry on a Lyme work at Loanghrannach, as also at Carrachan, where Lyme stone quarreys are opened, and to take Peats for the Lyme to be burnt at Carrachan from the moss above Culnakeerk, And to take Peats for the Lyme to be burnt at Loanghrannach [Lurga-roinich] from the mosses

nearest thereto; and the said James Dollas is to burn what Lyme he possibly can at both the saids places, and to sell the same to the said James Grant and his tenants and possessors of Urquhart at most at seven pence p. boll at the Upper Lyme quarry, and ninepence p. boll at Carrachan, reckoning the boll at Four ffurlots of the meal measure of the County of Inverness, and if the said measure can be turned into weight conveniently the same to be given accordingly of the Lyme after it is harped, and to make from two to four thousand bolls in the year as the weather will allow; and which quantity is to be yearly taken from the said James Dollas by the said James Grant and his tenants; and the said James Dollas is to have an allowance for building a Lyme house at each kiln. And the said James Dollas is to make a Tryal of the above work for three years from this Whitsunday, certain; and for seven years if no other person shall undertake the said Lyme work, and sell the Lyme cheaper; and no Lyme to be sold out of the said James Grant's Estate without his allowance. This is written by James Grant, Clerk at Castle Grant, and signed by the saids parties on this and the preceding page at Kilmore the Eleventh day of May seventeen hundred and seventy years. Before witnesses, Alexander Innes of Breda, and the said James Grant writer hereof.

James Grant
I.D.

Alexr. Innes witness.
James Grant witness.

The Peats and Lyme stone already laid in at the upper kiln are to be burned, and after the same are burnt James Dollas is to account to Mr Grant at the sight of Mr Willox [Mr Willox, or Macgregor, the Factor,] for what the same may burn out.

J. G.
I.D.

APPENDIX D (Pages 116 and 442).

Charter by the Bishop of Moray, to John Mackay and his Wife and Son, of Achmonie. 1557. [Translated from the Latin, in MS. Register of Moray, in Advocates' Library.][1]

To all who shall see or hear this Charter, Patrick by the mercy of God bishop of Moray and perpetual commendator of the Abbey of Scone, everlasting health in the Lord: know ye that we with express consent and assent of the canons of our chapter

1 See Chiefs of Grant, Vol. III., for Charters of 1509 in favour of the Grants. See also pp. 77-81 *supra*.

of the Cathedral Church of Moray, chapterly assembled to that effect, our utility and that of our said church being on all sides foreseen, considered, and with diligent discussions and mature deliberations held beforehand, to the evident advantage of our said church and of our successors bishops of Moray, and in augmentation of our rental in the sum of 26s 8d more than the lands underwritten, with the brew-house, have paid to us or our predecessors; also for the promotion and improvement of the common weal of the kingdom, and in contemplation of the statutes of Parliament published thereanent, and for the repair and building of the edifices, stone houses, dams, orchyards, gardens, greens, and dovecots, upon the lands underwritten, so far as they may be able to bear, also for a certain great sum of money thankfully and fully paid to us in advance by John McGilleis and Duncan McGilleis his son, wholly for the use of us and of the said cathedral church of Moray, and for other gratitudes, helps, and well deserving deeds done and performed many times to us by the said John McGilleis and Duncan McGilleis, have given, granted, rented, set, and let, to the said John McGilleis McKaye and Katherine Euene Canycht his spouse, and the survivor of them in liferent, and after their decease, have set, rented, let, and at feuferme or perpetual emphyteusis, heritably dimitted, and by the tenor of these presents do set, rent, let, and at feuferme or perpetual emphyteusis heritably demit, and by this present charter do confirm to the said Duncan McGilleis, son of the said John McGilleis McKaye, and the heirs male of his body lawfully procreated or to be procreated, whom failing to the true lawful and nearest heirs male of the said Duncan whomsoever, All and Whole our lands of Awchmonye, with the brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, with their pendicles and pertinents, lying within the barony of Kinmylies, shire of Inverness, and our regality of Spynie: which lands of Awchmonye with the brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, and their pendicles and pertinents, were formerly let for the sum of three pounds usual money of Scotland as for the old ferme of the said lands, two kids, and three shillings and four pennies of said money for two firlots of dry multure, and for the grassum of the said lands yearly the sum of seventeen shillings and ten pence; and now in augmentation of our rental to the sum of twenty-six shillings and eight pence of the foresaid money more than ever the said lands with the brew-house and others, paid to us or our predecessors: To hold and to have all and sundry the aforesaid lands of Awchmonye with the brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, with their pendicles and pertinents, to the beforenamed John McGilleis McKaye and Katherine Euene Canycht and the survivor of them, in

liferent, and after their decease to the said Duncan McGilleis son of the said John McGilleis McKaye, and the heirs male of his body lawfully procreated or to be procreated, whom failing, to the true lawful and nearest heirs male of the said Duncan whomsoever, of us and our successors, bishops of Moray, in feuferme or emphyteusis and heritage for ever, by all their just ancient meithes and marches as they lie in length and breadth, limits and bounds, on every side, in tofts, crofts, gardens, houses, biggings, woods, plains, muirs, mosses, ways, paths, waters, stanks, rivers, meadows, grasings, pasturages, mills, multures and their sequels, fowlings, huntings, fishings, peat-mosses, turf-grounds, coals, coal-heuchs, rabbits, rabbit-warrens, pigeons, pigeon-cots, smithies, malt kilns, brooms and plantings, woods, groves, shrubberies, nurseries, stone quarries, saw mills, ferries, mountains, hills, vallies, stone, and lime; with courts and their issues, fines, herezelds, bloodwytes, and merchets of women, with culture and common pasture, and power to dig, labour, and cultivate new fields upon the lands underwritten, far and near, belonging, or which may in any way in future justly belong to the aforesaid lands of Awchmonye, with the brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, and their pendicles and pertinents, freely, quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, well, and in peace, without any withholding, revocation, contradiction, or obstacle whatever: Rendering therefor yearly, the said John McGilleis McKaye and Katherine Euene Canycht his spouse, and the longer liver of them, in liferent, and after their decease the said Duncan McGilleis and his heirs male of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, whom failing, the true lawful and nearest heirs male of the said Duncan whosoever, to us and our successors bishops of Moray, the said sum of three pounds of usual money of Scotland, as the ancient ferme of the said lands of Auchmonye, with brew-house of the same called Kilmichaell, with their pendicles and pertinents formerly due and wont, with two kids, and three shillings four pence for two firlots of dry multure, and for the grassum of the said lands yearly the sum of seventeen shillings ten pence, and in augmentation of our said rental the sum of twenty-six shillings eight pence, extending in whole in old ferme, dry multure, grassum, and new augmentation, to the sum of five pounds seven shillings ten pence of money aforesaid, and two kids, at two terms of the year, the feasts namely of Whitsunday and Martinmas in winter, by equal half portions: Moreover, the heirs male afore written doubling the said sum of five pounds seven shillings ten pence, with two kids, in the first year of their entry to the said lands and others for the ferme of that year only, as use is, in name of doubled feuferme:

And the said John McGilleis McKaye and Katherine Euene Canycht during their life rent, and after their decease the said Duncan McGilleis and his heirs male aforesaid, performing suit and personal presence at our three head courts held at Spynie, and likewise suit and personal presence by themselves and the inhabitants of the foresaid lands and brew-house in every justice ayre of the regality of Spynie as oft as it shall happen to be held: And the said John and Katherine during their life, and after their decease the said Duncan McGilleis and his heirs male as aforesaid, shall be faithful to us and our successors bishops of Moray, and shall do thankful service to our Cathedral Church of Moray: Also the said John McGilleis McKaye during his life and the inhabitants of the said lands, whom failing, the said Duncan McGilleis and his heirs male as aforesaid and the tenants of the said lands, shall be bound, as oft as they shall happen to be warned to that effect, to repair with us or with the bailie of us or of our successors, in the army of our sovereign lady the Queen and of her successors, to the wars, sufficiently and honestly provided, at their own expenses, with arms, apparel, warlike equipments, and other things necessary for that purpose, like other honest men their neighbours, according to the custom of the country, decree of Parliament, and statutes of the Kingdom, only for all other burden, exaction, question, secular service, or demand which from the said lands and others can in any way be justly exacted or required: And we, truly, the aforesaid Patrick bishop of Moray, and our successors who for the time shall be, shall warrant acquit and for ever defend all and sundry the aforesaid lands of Awchmonye with the brew-house thereof called Kilmichaell, with their whole pendicles and pertinents, to the aforesaid John McGilleis McKaye and Katherine Euene Canycht his spouse and the longer liver of them in liferent, and, after their decease, to the said Duncan McGilleis and the heirs male of his body procreated or to be procreated, whom failing to the true lawful and nearest heirs male of the said Duncan whomsoever, as freely, and quietly, in all and by all, in form as well as in effect, as is premised, against all deadly. In witness whereof our round seal, with our manual subscriotion, also the common seal of our said chapter, with the subscriptions of the Canons thereof to that effect chapterly assembled, and for the time representing the chapter, in sign of their consent and assent to the premises, to this our present charter are appended, at our said Cathedral Church of Moray, in the place of the chapter thereof, on the sixth day of May in the year of the Lord 1557: before these witnesses Mr John

Gordoun vicar of Kincardin and Rothiemurchus, James Innes of Dranye, Andrew Moncrieff, younger, Alexander Innes of Plaiddis, and Sir John Gibson, notary public.

PATRICK, bishop of Moray and commendator of Scone.
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, dean of Moray.
JOHN THORNETOUN, precentor of Moray.
JAMES GORDOUN, chancellor of Moray.
ALEXANDER DUNBAR, subchanter of Moray.
JOHN LESLIE, canon of Moray.
WILLIAM PATERSON, subdean of Moray.
JOHN LOKHART, of Inverkething prebendary.
WILLIAM HEPBURN, rector of Dupill.
PATRICK HEPBURNE, rector of Duffous.
THOMAS SUTHERLAND, rector of Ryne.

APPENDIX E (PAGE 190).

DONALD DONN.

THE following unpublished fragments of songs by Donald refer to localities in our Parish.

Of his retreat he sings:—

"Ann an Uamh Ruigh Bhacain,
Cha bhiodh cùram na h-*Exercise* oirnn."

("In the Cave of Ruigh Bhacain,
I had no dread of the *Exercise*").

Exercise was applied by the Highlanders to the regular army.

Another song runs:—

"Nan tigeadh an samhradh,
'S gu'n sgaoileadh an duileag,
Gu'n rachainn a Rusgaich
Cho sunndach ri duine;
Na'n cluinninn droch sgeula,
Bheirinn leum chun a' Chuilinn,
'S cha ghleidheadh luchd-Beurla mi—
Reisimeid churrachd!

'S ann agam tha 'n caisteal
Is treis air an t-saoghal,
Aig Inbhir Allt-Saigh
Far an taoghal na h-aoidhean ;
'S ged a thigeadh luchd-churrachd,
Is chasagan caola,
Is *bhombaichean shella*,
Cha chomhaich iad a chaoidh mi!''

(''If the summer would come,
And the leaf would open,
I would go to Ruiskich
As light-hearted as any man ;
If evil news reached me,
I would make for the Cuilionn,[1]
And the English-speaking folk could not
find me—
The hat-wearing regiment!

It is I who have the castle
Which is the strongest on earth,
At the mouth of Allt-Saigh,
Where guests will gather ;
And, although there come the folk of the hats,
And of the tight long coats,
And of bomb shells,[2]
They will never bring me to bay!'')

Notwithstanding the above reference to guests, Donald in another song complains of the lack of society in his Cave :—

'' Ged a cheannaichinn am buideal,
Cha'n fhaigh mi cuideachd ni ol,
Mar tig buachaill an t-seasgaich
Ruaig 'am fheasgar o'n t-Sroin.''

(''Though I should buy the anker,
I can get no one to drink it,
If the herdsman of the *eild* cattle
Takes not a turn in the evening from
the Strone!'')[3]

[1] An Cuilionn—the Holly Grove—is near Donald Donn's Cave.
[2] The soldiers in Urquhart Castle probably had shells, which came into general use in Britain about 1634.
[3] The Strone is between Allt-saigh and Invermoriston.

In reference to his capture Donald sang:—

" Mile mallachd gu bràth
Air a' ghunna mar arm,
An deigh a mhealladh 's an tàire fhuair mi.

Ged a gheibhinn dhom fein,
Lan buaile de spreidh,
B'annsa claidheamh 'us sgeith 's an uair ud.

Bha tri fichead is triùir
Ga mo ruith feadh nan lùb,
Gus an tug iad mo luthas le luathas uam!

Dhia! gur ann orms' bha nàir'
'N uair a ghlac iad mi slàn,
'S nach tug mi fear bàn no ruadh dhiu!"

(" A thousand curses for ever
On the gun as a weapon of defence,
After the deception and disgrace I have experienced.

Although I should get as my own
A fold full of cattle,
More dear to me would have been a sword and
shield in that hour!

There were sixty and three
Pursuing me among the bends
Until with their speed they deprived me of my
strength.

God! but it was I who was ashamed
When they seized me alive,
Without my bringing down one of them, fair-
haired or red!")

And of his approaching execution he said:—

" Bithidh mi maireach air cnoc gun cheann,
'Us cha bhi baigh aig duine rium—
Nach truagh leat fhein mo chaileag bhrònach,
Mo Mhairi bhoidheach, mheall-shuileach!"

(" To-morrow I shall be on a hill, without a head,
Is cha bhi baigh aig duine rium—
Have you no compassion on my sorrowful maiden—
My Mary, the fair and tender-eyed!")

APPENDIX F (Page 211).

Proceedings Brigadier Grant against Alexander Mac Uisdean Glass, in Buntait, and his Mother. [From Mr Fraser-Mackintosh's "Antiquarian Notes."]

William, Lord Strathnaver, Sheriff-Principal of the shire of Inverness, to our officers in that part, conjunctly and severally constituting, greeting: This precept seen, you pass and lawfully summon, warn, and charge to compear before us or our deputes, one or more, within the Tolbooth of Inverness, in ane Sheriff Court thir to be holden the and days, in the hour of cause for first and second diets, to answer, at the instance of Brigadier-General Alexander Grant of Grant, in the matter underwritten, that is to say, that whereupon the day of seventeen hundred and eight years, or ane or another of the days of the month of that year, there was away taken out of one of the vaults of the Castle of Urquhart, belonging to the said pursuer, ten ton cake lead at two thousand pound weight each ton, which ten ton lead was a pairt of the lead with which the said Castle of Urquhart, belonging also to the pursuer, was covered; as also, about the time before mentioned, there was away taken furth of the said Castle, some deals or parts of the partitions of the chambers in the said Castle, which lead and deals being for some time amissing, and diligent search made for the same, there was found of the said ten tons of lead and quantity of timber or deals, in the said defenders their houses and barns in Buntait, or in their possession, upon the day of seventeen hundred and seventeen years, a lump, piece, or cake of lead, or two or three pieces of a cake of lead, which was taken out of the said vaults, as also one or other of the said defenders used all the said deals or partitions, at least a part of them, for making chests, girnels, or some other household or necessary materials, by which it is averred that the said defenders, or either of them, were the way takers of the said whole lead and partitions, and therefor ought to make payment of the same: Albeit it is of verity that the said pursuer, and others in his name, have frequently desired the said defenders to make restitution of the said ten tons of lead and two hundred deals as part of the said partitions; nevertheless they refused, &c., and therefore the said defenders, to hear and see themselves, decerned *in solidum* to make payment to the said pursuer of one shilling Scots per pound for every pound of the said ten tons lead, computing two thousand pounds weight to each ton, extending in all to one thousand pounds Scots money, as also six shillings Scots

for each deal of the said two hundred deals being partitions, extending to sixty pounds Scots money foresaid, after the form and tenor of the laws of Scotland as in like cases, or else to allege a reasonable cause to the contrair; and sicklike that ye fence, cross, and arrest all and sundry the said defenders, their readiest corns, cattle, horses, nolt, sheep, insight plenishing, debts, sums of money, and all other goods and gear whatsoever, wherever or in whose hands the same may or can be apprehended within the bounds of our office and jurisdiction, to remain under sure arrestment unloosed at the said pursuer's instance, ay and while sufficient caution be found, acted in the Sheriff Court books of Inverness that the same shall be made furthcoming to him as law will with certification as effeirs, according to justice, &c. Given under the hand of the Clerk of Court at Davochfour the twenty-ninth day of October 1718 years.

(Signed) JOHN JACKSON.

On the third day of November 1718, Alex. Mac-Uisdean Glass, in Buntait, and Elspet nin Uisdean-Mhic-Fereichar, there, his mother, are cited as defendants.

Inverness, 13th January 1719.—Mr Alexander Clark, Sheriff-Depute, *Actor* Alex. Munro, John and Alex. Baillie. George Forbes, for the defenders, denies the libel. The pursuer offered to prove the libel, and craves a day may be assigned for citing witnesses, and a warrant for that effect.

The judge admits the libel to the pursuer's probation, and grants diligence for that effect against the day of next.

(Signed) ALEX. CLARK.

Inverness, 24th February 1719.—Mr Alexander Clark, Sheriff-Depute, in the proof of Brigadier Grant against M'Hutcheon Glass in Buntait.

The witnesses following being charged by virtue of letters of diligence, are admitted in the terms of the last interlocutor, viz., William vic Allaster, vic William, vic Vurrich, in Buntait, a man unmarried, aged twenty-six years or thereby, purged of partial counsel, duly sworn and interrogat—What he knows of the defenders or either of them their away taking of the lead and timber libelled, and what quantities of either he saw or knows to be in the defender's or either of their possession and custody, whether in house, barn, or any other place. Depones negative as to the lead and timber, which is the truth, as he shall answer to God, and depones he cannot write.

(Signed) ALEX. CLARK.

John Miller, a married man, aged thirty years or thereby, purged of partial council, was cast, because he owned he had malice and ill-will against defender.

(Signed) Alex. Clark.

Ferquhar Urquhart, aged forty years or thereby, and married, objected against, that he cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, which he did. Depones—That at the time libelled, he made a chest to the defender M'Hutcheon Glass, which the said defender himself told the deponent the timber was of the deals of the Castle of Urquhart, and depones the chest would hold a boll of meal or thereby. Depones he knows nothing of the lead *causa scientiæ patet;* and further depones, the deals used to the chest were formerly made up of either in lofting or a partition, and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God, and depones he cannot write.

(Signed) Alex. Clark.

William M'Hector, an unmarried man, aged twenty-two years or thereby, purged of partial council, duly sworn and interrogat, *ut supra*. Depones that in the beginning of last summer, he saw in the widow's house, one of the defenders, the bigness of a shoe sole of lead, and in that form, of a thin lump, but does not know from where it came, *causa scientiæ patet*. Depones he knows nothing of the deals, which is truth as he shall answer to God, and cannot write.

(Signed) Alex. Clark.

Donald Noble, aged twenty years or thereby, purged of partial counsel, duly sworn and interrogat. Depones that about a year ago he saw in a byre belonging to M'Hutcheon Glassich, two pounds of lead, in the form of a slate, and in the form thereof, and about the thickness thereof, or of a cow's hide. Depones he knows not from whence it came, and knows nothing of the deals, *causa scientiæ patet;* and this is the truth, as he shall answer to God. Depones he cannot write.

(Signed) Alex. Clark.

The pursuer's procurator craved a further diet for adducing the other witnesses, and a warrant for apprehending their persons, and if that be not granted, that they be not straitened in the dyet, so as they may have letters of diligence and supplement from the Lords of Session.

[At this stage the proceedings drop.]

APPENDIX G. (Page 239).

ACCOMPT LUDOVICK COLQUHOUN OF LUSS, WITH THE PUBLICK, FOR THE PURCHASE MONEY OF THE ESTATE LATE OF JOHN GRANT, LATE OF GLENMORISTON, ATTAINTED. [From the original in the Register House, Edinburgh].

DEBITOR.

	Sterling Money. £ s d.
To the Purchase money of the Estate late of Glenmoriston bearing Interest from Whitsunday 1730 per Minute of Sale the 3rd day of December, 1730	1086 0 0
To Interest at 5 per cent. two years from Whitsunday 1730 to Do. 1732	108 12 0
	£1194 12 0

CREDITOR.

				Sterling Money.
By the Principal Sume of 2000 Merks Scots Decreed to Alexander Grant of Sheugly, and assigned by him to the said Ludovick Colquhoun	£111	2	2⅔	
By another Principal Sume of £200 Scots Decreed and assigned as above	16	13	4	
Interest of the last mentioned Sume from 24th June 1716 to Whitsunday 1730	11	11	6	
	£139	7	0⅔	
To be deducted the yearly rent of £40 Scots for the lands of Glenfad, of which Sheugly was in possession from the Attainder to Whitsunday 1730...	46	6	0	
Remains ...	£93	1	0⅔	
Interest of said remaining Sume at 5 per cent. from Whitsunday 1730 to Do. 1732...	9	6	1¼	
				£ s. d. 102 7 1 1/12
By 3000 Merks Scots due to Æneas Grant of Duldreggan, for which he was in possession of lands and is now assigned to the Accomptant, Principal and Interest at Whitsunday 1732				183 6 8
By 500 Merks Scots of Principal and Interest to Whitsunday 1732 Assigned by William Martin Creditor on the said Estate to the Accomptant being £85 7s 7⅛d Sterling, but in regard the price of the Estate falls short of paying the personal Debts, the proportion due the Accomptant is only				62 2 9⅔
By £74 13s 4d and 240 Merks Scots due to Alexander Duff of Drumuir, with Interest to Whitsunday 1732, Assigned to the Accomptant, being £61 4s 7⅞d Sterling. The proportion is only				44 11 3⅔
By £234 13s 4d Scots due to John Baillie, with Interest from the purchase to Whitsunday 1732, Assigned to the Accomptant, being £21 10s 2⅔d Sterling, the proportion is only				15 13 1½
By 2000 Merks Scots due to William Frazer, with Interest conform to the decree to Whitsunday 1732, Assigned to the Accomptant, being £977 8s 5½d Sterling, the proportion is only				711 7 7¼
By the Feu Dutys payable to the Crown, out of the said Estate due from the year 1688 to the year 1715, which the said Ludovick Colquhoun has given Security to pay if his Majesty does not discharge the same, being				75 3 4
				£1194 12 0

(Signed) JOHN CLERK.
(„) GEORGE DALRYMPLE.
(„) THOMAS KENNEDY.
(„) EDW. EDLIN.

Exchequer Chamber, 21st July, 1732.
(Signed) LUD. COLQUHOUN.

APPENDIX H (Page 280).

(The originals of these papers are at Castle Grant).

I. A List of the Persons in Urquhart who were Concerned in the Rebellion, Surrendered themselves Prisoners to Sr. Ludovick Grant, and were by him brought in to Inverness. 1746.

1. Evan Dow[1] in Corrymony. Forced to the North by the Rebells. An Honest Man.
2. Donald Roy[2] in Carnach. Forced. An Honest Man.
3. William Grant there. Forced. An Honest Man.
4. Donald McMillan in Tulloch. Forced. Returned home soon. Honest.
5. William McAlister in Polmale. An Honest Man.
6. James Cumming in Pitcherrel-Begg. Forced, but Reckon'd a plunderer in the North.
7. Archibald Grant in Achtemerak. Engaged willingly, and went with the Rebels South and North.
8. William Dow[3] there. Forced. An Honest Man.
9. Donald ffraser *alias* Gardiner[4] there. A very Industrious Honest man. Forced.
10. Alexander McConachy oig in Bunloit. Forced. An Honest man.
11. Alexander Grant *alias* Bain[5] there. Not forced. Reckon'd a plunderer in the North.
12. John McAlister vic Ian Roy in Clune Begg. Was in the North with the Rebells, and not under the Character of An Honest Man this severall years.
13. Donald Dow[6] there. Forced. An Honest Man.
14. Duncan Bain[7] in Auchtuie. Engaged with the Rebels meerly for want of Bread to his poor family, and is an honest man.
15. Duncan Cuming went with the Rebels the day before the Battle of Culloden, and never Received Arms or Pay. Is an honest man.
16. Alexander Roy[8] in Corimony. An Honest man. Forced.

List of Rebells in Urquhart Apprehended by Sr. Ludovick Grant, and by him sent to Inverness.

17. John Bain[9] in Corimony. Forced with the Rebells for two or three days, but desearted them befor they left the parish. An honest man.

1 Black Evan. 2 Red Donald. 3 Black William. 4 Fraser was a gardener. 5 Bain, fair-haired. 6 Black Donald. 7 Fair-haired Duncan. 8 Red Alexander. 9 Fair-haired John.

18. Donald Bain[1] there. Forced the day before the battle of Culoden. Honest.
19. Alexander Bain[2] there. Forced said day. Is an honest man.

That the above Observations and Characters are just, according to my best Information and my own Reall Oppinion, is at Inverness the tenth day of May, One thousand seven hundred and forty six years, attested by me, John Grant, Minister of the Gospell at Urquhart.

(Signed) JOHN GRANT, Minr.

N.B.—None of the above List Engaged in the Rebellion till the Close of Feby. last, excepting Archibald Grant above specifyed. (Signed) JOHN GRANT, Minr.

II. A LIST OF ALL THE MEN IN GLENMORISTON THAT SURRENDER'D THEMSELVES TO SR. LUDOVICK GRANT, MAY THE 4TH, AND BY HIM DELIVERED TO HIS ROYALL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, MAY THE 5TH, 1746.

1. John McCallum in Coinachan. A Volunteer. Of a fair Caracter befor the Rebellion.
2. Hugh Miller there.[3] A Volunteer and Noted Thieff.
3. Peter McHomash in Craskie. Made his Escape from the South in Harvest. Again forced out, and Escaped after Travelling four miles with the Rebells, and a third time Escaped from the North. Very Honest.
4. John Roy Grant there. Desearted before Glds-muir. Forced in November last by Glengary's son, and Disearted from Pearth at Chrismass. Continued at home till Spring, when he again Escaped from the North, and so was in no Engagement. Of a fair Caracter.
5. John Mitchell there. Pressed. Disearted twice, and was in no Action. Of a fair Character.
6. Donald McCoil Duy there. Pressed by Glengary's Son, and disearted twice. Of an honest and fair Character.
7. John McInteyre there. A Volunteer. Suspected a Thieff.
8. Angus Buy[4] there. Pressed three times, and Disearted. Never Inclinable to Useing Arms, and Honest.
9. Donald Roy in Bellindrom. Pressed by Glengary's son. Of a fair Carracter.
10. Allan Roy there. A Volunteer and a thief.

1 Fair-haired Donald. 2 Fair-haired Alexander. 3 Hugh was a miller by trade. 4 Yellow Angus.

11. Donald McCoil vic. Ian Duy. Pressed, and Disearted after travelling twenty four miles with the Rebells. Honest.
12. John McEvan there. Pressed. At no Engagement, and of a Suspected Carracter.
13. William Buy there. Pressed to the North in March last. A thief.
14. John Grant in Belnagarn. Pressed twice by Glenmoriston. He made his Escape from the South, and [was] Returned by the way by a party of the Rebells that stoped the passes. He defyed them to bring him to the North in March last. Honest.
15. Donald Grant there. Never in Arms till pressed March last, and Disearted in a fortnight's time. Honest.
16. Donald Grant in Ballintombuy. Pressed twice. Upon Disearting was pursued to the Hills. Always shewed the Greatest Aversion to the late Unnaturall Rebellion. An Honest Man.
17. Peter Campbell there. Influenced by his Superior [Glenmoriston] to rise in arms. An Honest Man.
18. Peter Grant in Tullocheichart-more. Pressed, and three times Disearted. Never at any Action. Honest.
19. John McAlister *alias* Grant in Belnagarn. Never in Arms till pressed, and Disearted in a fortnight's time. Honest.
20. Duncan Grant in Vester Dundregon. Pressed and Honest.
21. Duncan McWilliam there. Pressed by Glengary's Son, and Disearted twice. An Honest Man.
22. John McIan vic farquhar there. Disearted after Falkirk Skirmish, and he Defyed them afterwards to Rise in Arms. Honest.
23. Farquhar McIan Mcfarquhar there. Never in Arms till pressed in March last, and was at no Engagement. Honest.
24. Angus Grant there. Pressed by Glenmoriston and Lochgary at Different times. At no Action, and no ways Inclyned to Rebellion. Honest.
25. John McCoil Roy there. Pressed. Of a Peaceable Disposition. Honest.
26. Alexr. McEvan Roy there. A Volunteare. Honest.
27. Donald Grant there. A Volunteer. Honest.
28. Thomas McCay there. Withstood severall attacks, but at length was Pressed. Honest.
29. Evan McCoil vic William there. Pressed. Honest.
30. John Grant in Inverwick. Of a Valueable Charracter, and always Showed an Aversion to Rebellion tho Obliged to be in Arms. Upon the Rebells Return to the North he Defyed all Solicitations to Rise any more in Arms.

31. Archibald Campbell *alias* McAllister there. A Volunteer. An Honest Man.
32. Duncan Rioch[1] there. A poor harmless fellow. Draged out.
33. John ffraser there. Volunteer. Honest.
34. James Grant in Wester Inverwick. Resisted all Solicitations till forced to the North in March last, but soon Returned. Honest.
35. Alexander Grant in Wester Inverwick. Pressed Severall times and always Disearted. He Detested Rebellion, for which he was Ubraided by some for Cowardice and all the Most Opprobious Names. Honest.
36. Alexander Grant there, Boatman. Forced twice. Honest.
37. Peter Grant in Easter Achlein. Pressed by Glenmoriston and Glengary's son at Different times. At no Action. Honest.
38. John Grant there. Pressed, and still Disearted. Honest.
39. Alexander Dow McDonald in Wester Auchlein. Pressed. Honest.
40. Donald Grant in Blairy. Volunteer. Honest.
41. James Grant there. About 60 years of age, yet forced in March last, but soon Disearted. Honest.
42. Donald Chisholm there. Volunteer. Honest.
43. Alexander Ferguson there. Pressed. Honest.
44. Duncan Grant in Livicie. Pressed. Honest.
45. Angus McGilphadrick there. Pressed. Honest.
46. Alexander McAlister Vic Evan there. An Old Sickly man. Pressed to Supply the place of his Son who hapned to be Indisposed March last. Honest.
47. Alexander Grant there. Volunteer. Honest.
48. Donald McAlister vic Evan there. Never in Arms till forced to the North in March last. Honest.
49. John McAlister Oig there. Volunteer. A noted thieff.
50 Alexander Buy McDonald in Achnagonerein. Frequently pressed, and Disearted. Never in Action. Honest.
51. Donald Farquharson and
52. Alexander Farquharson there } Both pressed, and of Good Charracters.
53. William Farquharson there. Never in Arms till forced to the North March last. Honest.
54. James Cumming there. Pressed. Honest.
55. Peter Farquharson there. Never in Arms till forced in March last. Honest.
56. Donald Farquharson in Aldsay and
57. William McEvan in Invermoriston. } Both influenced by their Superior. The said William Returned after Gladsmuir and never Rose any more in Arms. Honest.

[1] Speckled Duncan.

58. Alexander Grant in Delcaitack. Joined the Rebell Army in passing the Country, and returned befor they Reached Stirling. Always bore an Utter Aversion to this Rebellion. Honest.

59. John Fraser, and
60. John McFarquhar there. } Forced when the Pretenders Son landed, but Returned after Travelling about sixteen miles. Honest.

61. George Buy McDonald there.
62. Donald McAlister Duy there.
63. Duncan Grant there. } All Pressed and Honest.

N.B.—The people of Delcaithack were Ill treated by three different persons, and in Particular Glengary's son sent a party 3 miles Distance in Novr. last to burn their all If they Refused to Rise in Arms.

64. James Grant, Smith. Pressed by Glenmoriston. Honest.
65. Donald McGilchrist in Livisie. Frequently Shunned Solicitations to Rise in Arms. Honest.
66. William Bain in Wester Dundregon. A Volunteer of a Suspected Character.
67. John McAlister vic Coil vic Conachie McDonald. Volunteer. Honest.
68. John Buy Stewart in Kily-Chuimen [Fort-Augustus]. A Baggage boy.

N.B.—In Novemr. last Colle M'Donald of Barisdell wrot to Dundregon to have the Men of Glenmoriston Convened and Ready to march with him to Perth against he pass the Country, otherwise he will Destroy and Burn it Stoop and Roop, but the said Dundregon Disregarded his threatnings, and would not in the least Concern himself that way.

That the above Observations and Characters are Just, according to my best Information, and my own Real oppinion, is, att Inverness, this tenth Day of May, One thousand Seven hundred & forty Six years, attested by William Grant, Missionary Minister of the Gospell att Glenmoriston.

(Signed) WILLIAM GRANT, Minr.

III. List of Arms Surrendered to Ludovick Grant at Balmacaan, May, 1746.

From the original List, which is at Castle Grant, it appears that the Glenmoriston men surrendered 61 firelocks, 7 bayonets, 26 swords, 7 pistols, 1 Lochaber axe, 2 dirks, and 12 belts; and that the Urquhart men surrendered 8 firelocks, 1 sword, 2 dirks, and 4 belts. These arms were delivered by Ludovick Grant to the Duke of Cumberland on 5th May.

APPENDIX I (Page 292).

Report of the Cattle and other Effects taken by the Army from the Country of Urquhart in 1746.

[Original at Castle Grant.]

Killmichel, the 23rd day of January, 1747, in Presence of John Grant of Ballintome, Baillie of that part of the Regality of Grant called the Lordship of Urquhart, Compeared John Shaw, writer, Inverness, and represented that Cattle and other Effects had been last summer carried off by a partie of the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse, and that as they were to make a representation to the Government for redress, as they were Loyall Subjects, Craved the Baillie might take their Depositions upon the Losses by them sustained; which the Baillie did.

Accordingly Compeared John ffraser in Divach, Who Depones that there was taken from him Twenty-eight Cows, each of which was worth Twenty-eight merks Scots money, two mares and two foals worth One hunder'd merks, One hundered Sheep at four Shillings Sterling each, ffifty Goat at ffour Shillings Sterl. each, and Household ffurniture to the Extent of three hundred merks; Which is truth as he shall answer to God, and Depones he cannot write.

(Signed) John Grantt.

[Then follow the Depositions of the other Tenants; and from the "Report" is made up the following "Accompt," which is also preserved at Castle Grant.]

Accompt of Cattle, &c., taken by the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse out of that part of Sr. Ludovick Grant's Estate called the Lordship of Urquhart.

	£ Sterling.	£	s.	d.
John Fraser in Divach had taken from him—				
28 cows at 28 merks Scots money each	£43 11 1¼			
2 mares and 2 foals at a 100 merks	5 11 1¼			
100 sheep at 4 sh. Ster. Each	20 0 0	95	15	6½
50 goats at 4 sh. Ster. Each	10 0 0			
Household furniture value 300 merks	16 13 4			
John McDugald in Clunemore had taken from him—				
12 cows at 28 merks each	£18 13 4			
5 horses at 40 merks each	11 2 2½	37	19	6½
41 sheep at 4 sh. Ster. each	8 4 0			
Dugald McDonald in Borlumore had taken from him—				
6 Cows at 24 merks Each		8	0	0
James ffraser in Divach had taken from him—				
24 Cows at 28 merks Each	£37 6 8¼			
3 horses at £2 Ster. Each	6 0 0	54	10	8¼
56 sheep at 4 sh. Ster. Each	11 4 0			

	£ Sterling.	£	S.	D.
John Mcfie in Divach had taken from him—				
20 cows at £1 4/ Ster. Each	£24 0 0			
4 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	8 0 0	44	0	0
60 sheep at 0 4 sh. Ster. Each	12 0 0			
Donald McDugald in Borlumore had taken from him—				
7 cows at £1 10/ Ster. Each		10	10	0
John Macdonald in Borlumore had taken from him—				
5 cows at £1 8/ Ster. Each	£7 0 0			
1 mare,1 foal £2 10 Ster.	2 10 0	9	10	0
Christian Cameron in Borlumore had taken from her—				
2 Cows & 1 horse at £1 10/ Ster. Each ...		4	10	0
John Cameron in Clunebegg had taken from him—				
15 cows & 2 horses at £2 0 0 Ster. Each ...		34	0	0
Donald Cameron in Bunloit had taken from him—				
8 Cows at £1 4 Ster. Each	£9 12			
28 Sheep at 0 4 sh. Ster. Each	5 12	20	4	0
2 horses at 5 0 Sterl.	5 0			
Anne Fraser in Belimacan had taken from her—				
42 sheep at £0 4 sh. Ster. Each		8	8	0
William Grant in Belimacan had taken from him—				
6 Cows at £1 5 Ster. each	£7 10			
20 sheep at 0 4 Ster. each	4 0	11	10	0
Donald McDonald in Divach had taken from him—				
12 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£15 0			
5 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	10 0	33	0	0
40 sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	8 0			
Dugald McDonald in Bunloit had taken from him—				
6 Cows at £1 5/ Ster. Each	£7 10			
9 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	18 0	30	10	0
25 sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	5 0			
John McWilliam in Bunloit had taken from him—				
9 cows at £1 4 Ster. Each	£10 16			
7 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	14 0	32	0	0
36 sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	7 4			
Samuel Cameron in Clunebeg had taken from him—				
11 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£13 15			
5 Horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	10 0	24	7	0
3 Sheep at 0 12 Ster. Each	0 12			
John Cameron, Bunloit, had taken from him—				
10 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£12 10			
5 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	10 0	34	10	0
60 Sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	12 0			
Samuel Cameron in Clunemore had taken from him—				
9 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£11 5			
6 horses 12 0 Ster.	12 0	31	5	0
40 Sheep 0 4 Ster. Each	8 0			
John Cameron in Bunloit had taken from him—				
43 Sheep at £0 4 Ster. Each	£8 12			
1 horse at 2 0 Ster.	2 0	10	12	0
Evan McDonald in Bunloit had taken from him—				
13 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£17 5			
9 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	18 0	35	17	0
3 sheep 0 12 Sterl....	0 12			
John McDonald in Pitcherrel had taken from him—				
4 Cows £5 0 Ster.	£5 0			
7 horses 14 0 Ster.	14 0	22	4	0
16 Sheep 0 4 Ster. Each	3 4			

	£ Sterling.	£	s.	d.
Donald McDonald in Clunemore had taken from him—				
16 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£20 0			
2 horses at 2 0 Ster. Each	4 0	34	0	0
50 Sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	10 0			
Donald Fraser in Bunloit had taken from him—				
6 Cows £8 0 Ster.	£8 0			
5 horses 10 0 Sterl....	10 0			
30 Sheep 6 0 Ster.	6 0	28	0	0
20 Goats 4 0 Ster.	4 0			
Donald Noble in Belimacan had taken from him—				
8 Cows at £1 5 Ster. Each	£10 0	28	0	0
90 Sheep at 0 4 Ster. Each	18 0			
Alexander Grant in Bellimacan had taken from him—				
36 Sheep at £0 4 Ster. Each		7	4	0
John Macdonald in Divach had taken from him—				
4 Cows £5 0 Ster.				
7 horses 14 0 Ster.		19	12	0
3 Sheep 0 12 Ster.				
Duncan Cameron in Divach had taken from him—				
8 Cows £10 0 Ster.				
3 horses 6 0 Ster.		20	4	0
21 Sheep 4 4 Ster.				
James Grant in Kilmore had taken from him—				
5 horses at £13 0		13	0	0
	Total	£743	2	9¼

APPENDIX J (Page 298).

Extracts from Bishop Forbes' "Lyon in Mourning." M.S. in Advocates' Library.[1]

"Six or seven weeks after the battle of Culloden the party commanded by Major Lockhart in Glenmoriston shot two old and one young man, a son of one of the former,[2] when they were harrowing, and expecting no harm. Grant of Daldrigan, who took no concern with the Highland army, was ordered by Lockhart (his house being surrounded by soldiers) to gather his own and all the cattle in one part of the country, while Lockhart was harrowing [harrying] and burning the other part; which being impossible for him to do against the time that Lockhart came back, he ordered him to be bound in hand and foot, erecting a gallows, stripped him naked, and carried him to the foot of the gallows, with the three corpses of the men they had killed the day before, like sacks, across on three horses, and hung the three bodies by the feet on the gallows;

1 This valuable collection has, since the first edition of this work was issued, been printed by the Scottish History Society.

2 The names of the men are given elsewhere in the *Lyon*. See p. 295 *supra*.

and they, at the same time, would have killed Daldrigan, had not Captain Grant, in Loudon's regiment, prevented it. They would hardly allow his wife time to take the rings off her fingers; but were going to cut off her fingers, having stripped her of her clothes, her house and effects being burned. And in the braes of Glenmoriston, a party there ravished a gentlewoman big with child, and tenants' wives, and left them on the ground after they were ravished by all the party; and Lockhart, in his way to Strathglass, shot a man,[1] wading a water, with the Whig teacher's protection in his hand to shew him, without speaking one word: and the whole party ravished there a woman big with child, and left her on the ground almost dead. All these are certain facts, which may be depended on, being known by a person of good credit." [Narrative by Rev. James Hay, Inverness].

"True, said Patrick Grant, that said Isabel Macdonald [wife of Alexander Macdonald] was ravished . . . in the Brae of Coiraghoth [Corri-Dho] about two miles from the Cave, and about six weeks before Lammas; and that one Flora Macdonald, wife to John Macdonald, was ravished by the same party, at the same time, and at the same place. . . . . The parties that thus came a ravaging to the Braes of Glenmoriston after the Battle of Culloden, stript the women and children of all the cloaths that could be useful to them (the sogers), and left them only the rags."

APPENDIX K (Page 317).

The Seven Men of Glenmoriston.

The following notices of the Seven Men may be of interest:—

In 1751, Patrick Grant informed Bishop Forbes that Alexander Macdonald was then dead. (Lyon in Mourning). Some time after Culloden, a son was born to him, whom he named Charles after the Prince. Charles was the grandfather of the late Duncan Macdonald of Torgoil (from whom the Author took down interesting traditions, and many lines of unpublished Ossianic poetry), of the late Bailie Duncan Macdonald, Inverness, and of Charles Macdonald, now (1893) tenant of Knocknagael, near Inverness, and of Balnacarn, in Glenmoriston.

Alexander Chisholm, according to Grant, was also dead in 1751. He had a son John, whose son William emigrated to America, and lived in Glenmore, Glengarry, Canada, in 1832.

[1] The man's name is given elsewhere in the *Lyon*. See p. 296 *supra*.

Donald Chisholm lived at Blairie till 1769, when he emigrated to Canada, where he died. In 1832, several of his children were living in Canada, one of them being Lewis Chisholm, captain 1st Regiment of Glengarry Militia, who resided on the Black River, Glengarry.

Hugh Chisholm spent many years in Edinburgh, where he was known to Home, the historian of the Rebellion, and to Sir Walter Scott, "who subscribed, with others, to a small annuity, which was sufficient to render him comfortable." *(Tales of a Grandfather).* In his old age he returned to Glenmoriston, where he was remembered by persons who communicated what they knew of him to the Author (see footnote, p. 317, *supra*). In his latter days he lived in Balnabruich, Strathglass, where he died. He had a son Alexander, who had a son Donald, who emigrated from Achlain, Glenmoriston, to Canada, about 1820. Donald and his family lived in 1832 at Lochiel, Glengarry, Canada. Hugh had another son Charles (named after the Prince), who lived at Druinach, Strathglass, till his death about 1820. Charles' descendants are still in the district. Hugh's sword was taken to America, where it came into the possession of Dr Stewart Chisholm, Royal Artillery. It is now (1893) in the hands of Dr Chisholm's son, Captain Chisholm of Glassburn, Strathglass.

Grigor Macgregor was alive in 1751, and, according to Patrick Grant, "as ready for a good ploy as ever." He was taken prisoner some time after the Prince left, in connection with an attack on soldiers, and seizure of cattle; but he made his escape, and returned to Glenmoriston.

John Macdonald or Campbell was also implicated in the attack on the soldiers, and was for a long time kept in prison in Inverness. There was no sufficient evidence against him, and he was in the end liberated. He was known as "Os Ean," from the Prince's mistake in thinking that was his name. The explanation given by Grant of the error is that John's companions were in the habit of addressing him "Aos Ean," or, more correctly, "Eisd, Iain!"—"Harken, John!" John is stated by Sir Walter Scott and other historians to have been hanged for stealing a cow—he who scorned the £30,000 bribe! The statement is incorrect. It appears from the *Scots Magazine* for 1754, that in May of that year, "John Mac Ewan Vic William, *alias* Macdonell, some time residenter in Ballado, in Glenmoriston," was hanged at Inverlochy for theft. This man, on being apprehended, gave out that he was one of the Seven Men. The result was that efforts were made to save his life, but unsuccessfully. In 1756, Patrick Grant explained the true circumstances to Bishop Forbes.

His old companion, John Macdonald, whose real name was Campbell, was alive then, and for many years thereafter. He was supported by Glenaladale until the latter's death. In 1762, Macnab of Innishewen collected money for him. He was then about sixty years of age, and had a sickly wife and young family. He lived in Glenmoriston, but wandered about a good deal. In 1770, he walked to Ballachulish to meet Bishop Forbes. "When making ready to go to the foresaid storehouse for worship," records the Bishop in his Journal, under date "July 8th, 4th Sunday after Trinity," "I spied an old, venerable, gray-headed man, looking wistfully at me, and solicitous to carry books, or any other thing. In setting out for the boat, Stewart of Invernahyle met us, and, after common compliments, told me that this was John Os Ean Mack Donell, the principal of the eight noted Glenmoriston men in 1746, who had come thirty six long miles to see me. Upon this, making up to him to take him by the hand, he fell flat upon his face to the ground, in the Eastern manner, from which I soon raised him up, the Tear starting in my eye as well as in his, and asked by an Interpreter, as he could speak nothing but Gaelic, how he had found me out. He answered that hearing I was in the Country, he well knew that Ballachelish would be my Head-Quarters, and therefore he had come hither. Old Ballachelish, turning about just as we were ready to go on Board the Boat, and pointing to the Valuable Hero, said, *There is the man that did more for* HIM, *Sir, than us all!* I gave him some small thing to bear his Charges in footing the Journey, but not so much as I inclined, not having it to spare, from the unexpected Jaunt to Argileshire. . . . The Reason why John had taken such a Journey to see me is that for some years past I had been as lucky as to make up a small Pension of five £ a-year for him, which pays his Farm. This makes poor John very easy in his circumstances, and I transmit it to him thro' the Hands of Ballachelish, Junior, who told me that Mr Seton of Touch, happening to be in the country, after purchasing the Estate of Appin, when John chanced to come for his Pension, gave him three guineas." Less prosperous times fell on John, and on 8th June, 1775, the Bishop writes:—"Poor Os Ean, upon failing of his usual moiety, joined the emigrants in August last, to seek a grave in a foreign land [Canada], where his merit is not known, and would be little regarded."

PATRICK GRANT appears never to have got over the loss of his cattle and destruction of his property in 1746. In 1751 he arrived in Edinburgh in a state of poverty, on his way to the Continent to visit the Prince. As Gaelic was his only

language, he was persuaded not to proceed further. He had interviews with Bishop Forbes (then the Rev. Robert Forbes of Leith), who took down from him long accounts of events after Culloden, which are recorded in the Lyon in Mourning. "I gave Patrick Grant a certificate," writes Mr Forbes, "desiring him to try if he could make any Thing for himself among Friends in and about Edr., to whom Donald Macdonald (his Interpreter) would direct him, and even attend him." This certificate ran as follows:—

Leith, Octr. 18, 1751.

"That the Bearer hereof, PATRICK GRANT, is one of the GLENMORISTON MEN so noted for the amazing preservation of ONE in the greatest Extremity of Danger and Distress, at the manifest Hazard of Life and all, THE IMMENSE SUM notwithstanding, is attested by

(Signed) "ROBERT FORBES, Clergyman.

"*N.B.*—The Bearer can speak Erse only."

Forbes also had Patrick's portrait painted, from which probably the miniature now in Glenmoriston's possession was taken (see p. 314, *supra*). In 1759 Patrick was pressed into the army, and he served for some years in North America. In 1763 he returned to Glenmoriston, in the enjoyment of a Chelsea pension, and he there passed the remaining years of his life.

Bards have sung, in Gaelic and English, of the Seven Men of Glenmoriston; and the Prince and themselves in the Cave have been made the subject of many a painting. Is it not time, however, that painters should cease to call their pictures "Prince Charles in *the Robbers'* Cave?"

APPENDIX L (PAGE 319).

NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF THE PARISH.

IT is not intended to give full accounts in these Notices of the families to which they refer. The Author regrets that the space at his disposal does not admit of any attempt to give detailed genealogies.

I. CONACHAR MAC AOIDH, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

The story of Conachar, son of Aodh or Aed, is given on pages 11 to 14 *supra*. He flourished about 1160, and is the first person on record said to have been proprietor of Urquhart. From him are descended the Mackays (descendants of Aodh or Aed); the Forbeses, who acquired the lands of Forbois in

Aberdeenshire; and the Urquharts, who took their name from Conachar's Glen (Urquhart). Conachar's son, Alexander, settled in Caithness and Sutherland, and became the first Chief of the Clan Aoidh, or Mackays. That clan, however, continued to be known in Glen-Urquhart. In the sixteenth century we find members of the clan large holders of land in the Glen. See under Mackays of Achmonie.

II. The Durwards.

Thomas Durward, son of Malcolm of Lundin, became proprietor of Urquhart early in the thirteenth century. The history of his family's connection with the Parish is given on pages 15 to 17 *supra*. "The Durwards, or *Ostiarii Regis*," says Mr Cosmo Innes (Thanes of Cawdor, p. 1), "though hardly mentioned in our books of pedigree, were a family of great power and possessions. The first of them, who took his name from his office, styles himself 'Thomas filius Malcolmi de Lundin hostiarius domini Regis' (cir. 1220). He inherited through his mother, who must have been a daughter of an Earl of Mar, large estates in the lower division of that great Earldom. His munificent donations to the Church show him as proprietor of lands in the parishes of Skene, Acht, Kinerny, Banchory, Midmar, Kincardine Oneil (where he built a bridge over the Dee), Lumfanan, Alford, Coull, and Leochel. He had property in Moray also, and was Sheriff of Inverness in 1226. Gilbert . . . had some right to the lands of Boleskine, and the family were also proprietors of lands at Urquhart. Thomas's son and heir, Alan Durward, was a person of great consequence in Scotland, holding the office of Great Justiciary from 1223 to 1251, and again in 1255. Besides their Northern possessions, the Durwards had lands in Angus—Lintrathen and others, and it was at the Abbey of Cupar in Angus that Alan chose his place of burial. But it is only in the fastnesses of Mar, and round their old Castle of Coull, that the memory of those great lords has lingered in popular tradition. The Cromar peasant still believes that the Kirk-bell of Coull rings of its own accord when a Durward dies. It is not known whether Gilbert was a son of Thomas Durward, nor can we do more than conjecture into what families the three co-heiresses of Alan, the Great Justiciary, carried his immense possessions."

III. The Cummings.

After the death of Alan Durward the Cummings appear to have got possession of Urquhart Castle and its domain, and to have retained them till the time of the War of Independence, although, probably, they had no right of property in them.

Sir Alexander Cumming held the Castle for a time for Edward I. See Chapter II. See under Cummings of Dulshangie.

IV. The Principal Families Connected with the Parish during the 14th and 15th Centuries.

These were the Forbeses, Randolphs, Lauders, Chisholms, the Wolf of Badenoch, and his son the Earl of Mar, the Lords of the Isles, and the Macleans. Their connection with the Parish is narrated in Chapters II., III., and IV. The heads of the family of Macleans became proprietors of Dochgarroch, but some of the name are still tenants in Glen-Urquhart. Mr Allan Maclean of Aberystwyth is the present (1893) head of the family.

V. The Lairds of Grant.

The "Chiefs of Grant" contains a very complete history and genealogy of the family of Grant of Grant, and the history of their connection with Urquhart is fully given in the foregoing pages. No more than a list of them is, therefore, required here.

John the Bard (1st), who acquired the Barony of Urquhart in 1509, and held it till his death in 1528, was descended from John le Grant, proprietor of Inverallan in 1316, and probably son of Sir Laurence le Grant, Sheriff of Inverness in 1263.[1] The Bard married Margaret Ogilvy. The following are his successors, proprietors of Urquhart:—(2nd) James Grant (m. 1st Elizabeth Forbes, and 2nd Christian Barclay), son of the Bard, proprietor from 1528 to 1553; (3rd) John (m. 1st Lady Margaret Stewart, and 2nd Lady Janet Leslie), son of James, 1553 to 1585; (4th) John (m. Lady Lilias Murray), son of Duncan, son of John (3rd), 1585 to 1622; (5th) Sir John (m. Mary Ogilvy), son of John, 1622 to 1637; (6th) James (m. Lady Mary Stewart), son of Sir John, 1637 to 1663: (7th) Ludovick (m. 1st Janet Brodie, and 2nd Jean Houston), son of James, 1663 to 1699, when (although he lived till 1716) he resigned Urquhart to his son, Brigadier Alexander Grant: (8th) Brigadier Alexander Grant (m. 1st Elizabeth Stewart, and 2nd Annie Smith), son of Ludovick, 1699 to 1717; (9th) Sir James (m. Anne Colquhoun), brother of the Brigadier, 1719 to 1747; (10th) Sir Ludovick (m. 1st Marion Dalrymple, and 2nd Lady Margaret Ogilvie), son of Sir James, 1747 to 1773; (11th) Sir James (m. Jane Duff), son of Sir Ludovick, 1773 to 1811; (12) Sir Lewis Alexander (who succeeded to the title and estates of Seafield), son of Sir James, 1811 to 1840; (13th) Francis William, Earl of Seafield (m. 1st Mary

[1] See Chiefs of Grant, I., pp. 8-15 and 499.

Anne Dunn, and 2nd Louisa Emma Maunsell), brother of Lewis Alexander, 1840 to 1853; (14th) John Charles, Earl of Seafield (m. the Hon. Caroline Stuart), son of Francis William, 1853 to 1881; (15th) Ian Charles, Earl of Seafield, son of John Charles, from 1881 to 1884, when he died unmarried, leaving his estates to his mother, Caroline, Countess of Seafield. He was succeeded in the titles by his uncle, the Honourable James Grant, who, on his death in June, 1888, was succeeded by his son Francis William. The latter died in December, 1888, and was succeeded by his young son James, the present Earl, who in 1898 married Mary Elizabeth Nina, eldest daughter of Henry Joseph Townend, M.D., J.P., of Christchurch, New Zealand, and has issue, Lady Nina Caroline, born in 1906. Caroline Countess of Seafield died in 1912, leaving the estates in trust for the present Earl and his successors.

VI. Grants of Corrimony.

The pedigree of this family is given in "The Chiefs of Grant," Vol. I., p. 515. The first Grant of Corrimony was (1st) John (son of John the Bard, Laird of Grant), to whom the estate was granted in 1509. His wife is said to have been a daughter of Strachan of Culloden. He died in 1533. The following are his successors:—(2nd) John, his son (married Marjory Grant), died about 1593; (3rd) John, son of the latter (m. Christian Rose), died before 1663; [William, son of John (3rd), who predeceased his father]; (4th) John, son of William (m. Katherine Macdonald), died before 1724; (5th) John, son of John (4th) (m. Mary Keith), died 1726; (6th) Alexander, son of John (5th) (m. 1st Jane Ogilvie, 2nd Catherine Fraser, 3rd Alicia Macdonald), died 1797; (7th) James, advocate and author, born 1743, died 1835 (see p. 405). In 1825 James sold that portion of his estate of old called Meiklies and Craskaig, thereafter Lakefield, and now Kilmartin, to Patrick Grant of Lochletter and Redcastle;[1] and in 1833 Corrimony proper was sold to Thomas Ogilvy.[2]

[1] The following have been the proprietors of Lakefield, now Kilmartin, since its sale by James Grant:—Patrick Grant, 1825 to 1836; Miss Hannah Fraser, Bruiach, from 1836 to 1838; Thomas Ogilvy of Corrimony, 1838 to 1852; Archibald Henry Foley Cameron, 1852 to 1884, when the estate was purchased by Alasdair Campbell of Kilmartin and Blackhall. Mr Campbell died in 1901, leaving the property to his widow, the present proprietrix (1913).

[2] The following have been the proprietors of Corrimony since its purchase by Mr Ogilvy:—Thomas Ogilvy, 1833 to 1874, when he conveyed it to his son, John Francis Ogilvy (Mr Thomas Ogilvy died in 1877); John Francis Ogilvy, 1874 to 1887; David P. Sellar, from 1887 to 1888, when the estate was purchased by Lachlan Andrew Macpherson. Mr Macpherson died in 1904, leaving Corrimony to his widow, Mrs Elizabeth Macpherson, the present proprietrix.

By Katherine Baillie Mackay, James had eight sons and two daughters. The eldest of those sons was James Grant, M.D., Ottawa, Canada, who died in 1866. Dr Grant's eldest son, Sir James Alexander Grant, M.D., for many years a member of the Canadian Parliament, who was born at Braefield, Glen-Urquhart, in 1829, now represents the family.

VII. Grants of Shewglie.

The pedigree of this family is given in "The Chiefs of Grant."

Alexander Grant, 1st of Shewglie (married Lilias Grant), was a son of John Grant, 2nd of Corrimony. According to a family tradition, he was his father's eldest son and heir, but was in some manner over-reached by his brother John, who consequently became proprietor of Corrimony. Certain transactions between Alexander and the Laird of Grant, in course of which Alexander was served heir-in-general to his father, would seem to show that the story is not without foundation. Alexander died about 1630. His successors have been his son (2nd) Robert (married Margaret Fraser), died about 1650; (3rd) Robert's son, James, who fought at Killicrankie, and was killed at Corribuy in 1691 or 1692 (see p. 222 *supra*), (m. 1st Janet Maclean, and 2nd Hannah Fraser); (4th) Alexander, son of James (m. 1st Margaret, daughter of The Chisholm, and 2nd Isabel, daughter of Glenmoriston), died in London in 1746 (see p. 288 *supra*); (5th) James, son of Alexander (m. Marjory, daughter of Fraser of Dunballoch), died in 1791; (6th) James of Shewglie and Redcastle, son of James, appointed Resident at Hyderabad by Warren Hastings, died in 1808, unmarried, succeeded by his cousin (7th) Colonel Alexander Grant (m. Jane Hannay), son of Patrick Grant of Lochletter (m. Katherine Baillie), son of Alexander Grant, 4th of Shewglie. Colonel Grant died in 1816, and was succeeded by his son (8th) Patrick of Redcastle (m. Catherine Sophia, daughter of Charles Grant, the E.I. Coy. Director). Patrick died in 1855, and was succeeded by his son (9th) the Rev. Alexander Ronald Grant, Canon of Ely, and Rector of Hitcham, Suffolk (m. Jane Sophia Dundas, daughter of his uncle, William Grant of Hazel Brae), who died in 1903. Canon Grant's son, Colonel Francis Charles Grant of Sherborne, Dorset, now represents the family.

Colonel Grant of Redcastle's sons, William, Hugh, Gregor, Alexander, James, and Charles (late of Hazel Brae) were all well known, and are still well remembered, in the Parish.

James Grant (3rd of Shewglie) had a son Patrick (married a daughter of Hugh Fraser of Erchit), who was alive in 1683.

Patrick's son, Robert (m. — Chisholm) had a son, Alexander (m. Margaret, daughter of Donald Macbean, tenant of Aldourie), who was "out" in the Forty-Five, and was known as the Swordsman. See Chapter XV. Alexander's son, Charles (m. Jane Fraser) became Director and Chairman of the East India Company. Charles' elder son, Charles, became the well-known Lord Glenelg (died unmarried), while his second son was the almost equally noted Sir Robert Grant (m. Margaret, laughter of Sir David Davidson of Cantray). This branch of the Shewglie family is now represented by Jocelyn Grant, eldest son of the late Sir Charles Grant, son of the above Sir Robert.

Of the Shewglie family was also descended the late Miss C. J. Chambers and Miss A. C. Chambers, Polmaily (see footnote p. 413), who were daughters of Lady Chambers, daughter of Mrs Wilson, Polmaily, daughter of the said Patrick Grant of Lochletter.

VIII. Grants of Glenmoriston.

The pedigree of the Glenmoriston Family is fully given in "The Chiefs of Grant." The first of the family was the famous Iain Mor, natural son of John the Bard. His story is told in chapters V. and VI. He married 1st Elizabeth or Isabella Innes, and 2nd Agnes Fraser. On his death in 1548 he was succeeded by his son (2nd) Patrick (m. Beatrice Campbell of Cawdor), from 1548 to 1581; (3rd) John (m. Elizabeth Grant), son of Patrick, 1581 to 1637; (4th) Patrick (m. Margaret Fraser), son of John, 1637 to about 1643; (5th) John (m. — Fraser), son of Patrick, from about 1643 to 1703; (6th) John (m. 1st — Baillie, and 2nd Janet Cameron), son of John (5th), from 1703 to 1736; (7th) Patrick (m. — Grant), second son of John (6th), from 1737 to 1786; (8th) Patrick (m. Henrietta Grant of Rothiemurchus), son of Patrick, 1786 to 1793; (9th) Lieut.-Colonel John Grant (m. Elizabeth Townsend Grant), son of Patrick, 1793 to 1801; (10th) Patrick, son of John, 1801 to 1808; (11th) James Murray Grant (m. Henrietta Cameron), brother of Patrick, 1808 to 1868; [Captain John Grant, son of James Murray Grant, m. 1st Emily Morrison, and 2nd Anne Chadwick, predeceased his father in 1867]; (12th) Iain Robert James Murray Grant (the present Laird, m. Ethel Davidson, and secondly Gabrielle Chaillé Long), son of Captain John Grant, succeeded his grandfather in 1868.

From the Grants of Glenmoriston were descended the Grants of Craskie and Duldreggan—a family of great influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Alexander Grant, last of Duldreggan, had three sons, who all settled in

British Guiana, and died unmarried, and four daughters, two of whom, Marjorie and Mary Ann, still (1893) survive. His daughter, Agnes Shaw, became the wife of Peter Anderson, solicitor, Inverness, author, along with his brother, of Anderson's "Guide to the Highlands." Her son, Mr P. J. Anderson, Secretary of the New Spalding Club, is a distinguished antiquary; and her daughter, Miss Isabel H. Anderson, is the author of "Inverness before Railways."

IX. Mackays of Achmonie.

The tradition of the Parish regarding the origin of the Mackays is embodied in the lines of the Glenmoriston bard, Archibald Grant:—

"Rugadh air a' mhuir a' cheud fhear
O 'n do shiollaich Clann Mhic Aoidh—
Conachar mor ruadh o 'n chuan."

"He was born on the sea
From whom the Mackays are descended—
Great Conachar the Red, from the ocean."

Conachar and his descendants have already been referred to. (See p. 505 *supra*). The first of the family of Achmonie whose name has come down to us is (1st) Gillies Mackay, who flourished in the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, and from whom the family took the patronymic of Mac Gillies. He was succeeded by his son (2nd) John Mac Gillies Mackay, whom we first meet in 1539, when he witnessed the sasine of John Chisholm of Chisholm, in the barony of Comarmore, Strathglass. (Sasine at Erchless Castle). In 1554 he and his wife Katherine, daughter of Euen Canycht (Ewen the Merchant), obtained from the Bishop of Moray a nineteen years' lease of Achmonie (Appendix C). Ewen Canycht was one of the tenants of Balmacaan at the time of the Great Raid of 1545. John, in that year, possessed Achmonie, and was also principal tacksman of Dulshangie. His son, Donald, had a share of Balmacaan; his brother Bean Mac Gillies, was the principal tenant of Cartaly; and his nephew, John Mac Donald Mac Gillies, had a share of Inchbrine. In 1557 the Bishop granted a perpetual charter (Appendix D) to John and his wife, and their son (3rd) Duncan. Duncan married Margaret, daughter of the said John Chisholm, and on 13th May, 1592, "for the singular favour and love which I have and bear towards Margaret Chesholme, my dearest spouse, and for other reasonable causes moving my mind thereto," granted to her the liferent of the estate in the event of her surviving

him.[1] He was alive in 1597. He was succeeded by his son (4th) John Mac Gillies, who in 1642 granted to Robert Grant of Shewglie a discharge of a bond for 500 merks owing to him by Grant. He is again on record in 1645. He was succeeded by his son (5th) Gillies, who was served heir in 1656. It was Gillies who killed the factor, and who was consequently deprived of the estate. (See pp. 191-193 *supra*). His eldest son (6th) John, and another son Donald, were solicitors in Inverness. John was legal adviser to Brigadier Grant of Grant, and got re-possession of Achmonie on the death of William Grant of Achmonie, about the end of the seventeenth century, although he did not get a written title till 1721. (See p. 193).[2] He married, when a comparatively

[1] The Disposition (Latin) in Margaret's favour is now in the possession of the Author, to whom it was presented by the late James Sutherland Chisholm of Chisholm. Few families can boast of so illustrious a pedigree as the small lairds of Achmonie had through Margaret Chisholm. It perhaps deserves a corner as a more than usually good specimen of the proverbially long "Highland pedigree." The following were her Chisholm ancestors, the figures indicating the periods at which they lived:—Her father was John Chisholm (1542), son of Wiland (1513), son of Wiland (1460), son of Thomas (1398), son of Alexander (1368), son of Sir Robert Chisholm, Governor of Urquhart Castle (see p. 40 *supra*). Through Sir Robert, Margaret was descended from the lords of Roxburgh and Berwick, and from Sir Robert Lauder, Governor of Urquhart Castle, and the Lauders of the Bass. Through the said Thomas Chisholm's wife (Margaret, daughter of Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh by his wife Agnes daughter of Hugh Fraser of Lovat) the Achmonie family are descended from the families of Lovat and Mackintosh. Through the said Thomas another line of ancestry can be traced to the ancient Earls of Stratherne, and Angus, and Atholl, as well as to the powerful Earls of Orkney and Caithness, and their remote ancestors in Norway. Thomas' mother, Margaret of the Aird, was a daughter of Wiland of the Aird, by his wife Matilda, daughter of Malise, Earl of Stratherne (1334), son of Maria, daughter of Magnus, Earl of Orkney and Caithness (1320), son of Earl John (1300), son of Earl Magnus (1260), son of Earl Gilbride (1250), son of Earl Gilbride (1240), son of Gilbride, Earl of Angus, and his wife, a sister or daughter of John, the last Norse Earl of Orkney, who died in 1231 without male issue, and who was son of Harold Maddadson, Earl of Orkney (1139 to 1206); who was son of Maddad, Earl of Atholl, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Hakon, Earl of Orkney (1100), son of Paul, Earl of Orkney (1090), son of the famous Earl Thorfinn (see p. 9 *supra*), son of Sigurd the Stout (slain at Clontarf, 1014), son of Hlodver, Earl of Orkney (970), son of Thorfinn Hausakliuf, Earl of Orkney (950), son of Torf Einar, Earl of Orkney (910), son of Rognvald, Earl of Mœri in Norway (died 890), son of Eystein Glumra, son of Ivar Uppland jarl, son of Halfdan the old (about 800). A brother of the said Torf Einar was the conqueror of Normandy, and ancestor of William the Conqueror. (See Anderson's "Orkneyinga Saga," cxxxii., *et seq.*; Skene's "Notes on the Earldom of Caithness," Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. XII., p. 571; and Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," II., 463).

[2] It may be of some little interest to note, as a local instance of historical repetition, that the Author has for the last forty years been legal adviser in connection with the Barony of Urquhart, as his great-great-grandfather, John Mackay of Achmonie, was two hundred years ago.

old man, Elizabeth Grant, daughter of James Grant of Shewglie, the hero of Killicrankie, who was killed at the fight of Corribuy. (See p. 222). He died in 1726, leaving a considerable fortune in bonds by neighbouring proprietors, and a settlement, by which he nominated Alexander Grant of Shewglie and James Fraser of Belladrum, tutors and curators to his children. These were (7th) ALEXANDER, James, Patrick, John, Janet, and Anne, and a son, Donald, who was born after his death. Before 1731 his widow married Alexander Grant, brother of John Grant of Glenmoriston (Iain a' Chragain).

After Alexander Mackay (7th) attained majority he raised an action of count and reckoning against Shewglie and Belladrum, and a long litigation and arbitration followed. He actively interested himself in The Forty-Five on the side of the Prince. (See Chapter XIV.). He sold the estate to Sir James Grant of Grant in December, 1779, and settled in Nairn in a house which he called Achmonie, and is now known as "Achmonie Place"—where he died in 1789 without male issue. By his first wife, Mary Grant, he left twin daughters, Jane and Elspet or Isobell (born 1st January, 1753).[1] He had no family by his second wife, Angus, daughter of Colonel Angus Macdonell of Glengarry, who commanded the Glengarry men in The Forty-Five, and was killed at Falkirk. (See pp. 252, 269 *supra*). His brothers James, Patrick,[2] and John all predeceased him without male issue, and he was succeeded as representative of the family by his youngest brother DONALD, who was transported to Barbados for the part he took in The Forty-Five, and, escaping, assumed the name Macdonald. (See pp. 273 and 289 *supra*). Donald, who died in 1791, left the following children by his wife, Mary Macfie—JOHN MACKAY MACDONALD, who succeeded him; Duncan; Mary; and William, who died in Demerara, unmarried.

John Mackay Macdonald was a planter in Jamaica and Berbice, and for some years resided at Lakefield. He afterwards settled in Cork, where he died. By his first wife (an Irish lady, Catherine Maria, who died at sea), he had four sons, William, John, James, and Peter, and a daughter Jane.

[1] Jane married Colonel James Fraser of Kincorth (son of Major James Fraser of Castle Leather, author of "Major Fraser's Manuscript"), and from her was descended a noted race of soldiers, including the late Sir James Fraser, Commissioner of Police for the City of London, and his brother, General Robert Walter Macleod Fraser. Isobell became the first wife of Major John Grant of Auchterblair, the father (by a second marriage) of the late Sir Patrick Grant, Governor of Chelsea Hospital.

[2] Patrick, who was for a time in the army, was tenant of Polmaily. He went to Pictou with a number of Urquhart people, but returned to Scotland. See p. 571.

By his second wife, also an Irish lady, he left a daughter, who married Robert O'Callaghan of Blackrock, near Cork, and left issue. John's male line became extinct on the death of his grandson, Donald Mackay Macdonald, who died at Cork about 1860. Donald was succeeded as representative of the family by William Mackay, Blairbeg (see footnote p. 289), only son of Duncan, second son of the first mentioned Donald Mackay Macdonald and Mary Macfie. Duncan, who was born at Kerrowgair House (now called Drumbuie) on 18th June, 1773, and married Mary Gibson, died at Lewistown in 1849, leaving a son (the said William) and a daughter, Mary. William (born at Cork 30th October, 1803), married on 7th June, 1825, Christian Fraser (born 4th June, 1805), daughter of Charles Fraser, tacksman of Ruiskich. He died at Blairbeg on 28th May, 1887, and she there on 15th October, same year—having lived together for the long period of sixty-two years. Their eldest son Duncan (born at Ruiskich, 1st April, 1826, married Ann Mackintosh, 2nd January, 1857) settled in the Argentine in the early sixties, and died there on 30th March, 1906, his wife having died on 18th December, 1873. Their eldest son, William Mackay, who resides in the Argentine, now represents the family of Achmonie.

X. Cummings of Dulshangie.

XI. Grants of Dulshangie.

Charles Maclean is said to have married a daughter of Cumming of Dulshangie in the end of the 14th century or beginning of the 15th (see p. 49 *supra*), but no person of the name appears as occupier of Dulshangie or any other lands in the Parish at the time of the Great Raid. (See Appendix B). The Cummings of Dulshangie were, however, an old family, and of great influence, notwithstanding that they never owned lands in the Parish—holding only on lease or wadset. In addition to Dulshangie, they also for some time possessed Inchbrine, and Meikle Pitkerrald or Allanmore. Between 1600 and 1634 James Cumming of Dulshangie appears. He was dead before 1653. He was succeeded by his son Donald, who is described in 1634 as "apperand of Dulshangie." He took a lease of Meikle Pitkerrald in 1660 (Appendix C), and was alive in 1665. He was dead in 1677, when his brothers, William Cumming, Sheriff-Clerk of Inverness-shire, and George Cumming, merchant in Inverness, had a dispute with Corrimony, who had erected a "dask" over a gravestone belonging to them in Kilmore Church. Donald was succeeded by his son James, who was dead in 1691, when his son Alexander was in possession. Alexander was succeeded by his son James, who was in possession in 1710, and as late as 1721.

The date of his death is not known, but he was probably the last Cumming who held Dulshangie, for in 1744 James Grant appears as tenant of the farm. James was of the Ballindoune family in Strathspey, and long occupied Dulshangie. By his wife, Lilias Grant, he had several children. He was succeeded in the farm by his son Duncan, who was for many years factor of Urquhart, and who died in 1803. (See p. 379 *supra*). Notwithstanding the trouble into which Duncan got in connection with the meetings and removal of Duncan of Buntait, and the untoward circumstances that in the eyes of the superstitious accompanied his death, his letters show that he was a man of a very kindly disposition. He was an enthusiastic officer of the Urquhart Volunteers, and a hearty supporter of Sir James Grant in his exertions to improve agriculture and the condition of the people. After his death the farm continued to be occupied by his widow and children, until 1883, when his daughter, Miss Agnes Shaw Grant, died. His youngest daughter—Mrs Corstorphan, now in her 90th year—still survives [1893].

APPENDIX M (Page 343).

Letters of Collation by the Bishop of Moray in Favour of Sir John Donaldson to the Chaplainry of St Ninians. 1556. [Translated from the Latin in "Chiefs of Grant" III., 122. See "Chiefs" III., 121, for Presentation by Mary Queen of Scots in favour of Sir John Donaldson, dated 26th August, 1556.]

Patrick, by the Divine mercy bishop of Moray, and perpetual commendator of the Monastery of Scone, to a discreet man, Sir James Duff, rector of Bolleskyne, and our commissary within the deanery of Inverness, or to any other chaplain, curate, and non-curate, celebrating divine service within our diocese of Moray, and upon the execution of these presents, duly required, greeting, with divine benediction. Whereas the chaplainry of Saint Ninian being for a long time past vacant, with 40s of the lands called Pitkarell, and one croft belonging to the said chaplainry, together with another croft, and relics of the crucifix of Saint Drostan, within the parish of the parochial church of Urquhart, and our diocese of Moray, being in the hands of our most serene Lady, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, by the decease of umquhile Sir Duncan Makolrik, sometime chaplain and possessor of the same, belonging and falling by full right to the presentation of the said most serene Mary our Queen, and to our admission and ordinary

confirmation—there compeared before us a discreet man, Sir John Donaldson, presbyter of our diocese of Moray, and exhibited and presented to us to be read a certain presentation of our said most serene lady, Queen of Scots, granted thereupon by her dearest mother Mary, dowager of the kingdom of Scotland and Regent thereof, to the said Sir John himself, with all and sundry houses, rights, fruits, lands, crofts, relics, rents, teinds, oblations, emoluments, and profits, which having been seen, considered, and perused, we have been asked and required, with due instance, not only by our aforesaid most serene Lady the Queen, in her right of patronage of the said chaplainry, but also by the same Sir John Donaldson, the presentee, that forthwith we should be pleased to receive and admit the said Sir John, so, as is premised, nominated, elected, and presented, in and to the said chaplainry, with crofts, lands, oblations, and relics of Saint Drostan, belonging to the aforesaid chaplainry, and to confer upon him, Sir John, our ordinary admission, and other provisions necessary, according to the force, form, content, and effect, of the said presentation, to us thereupon directed and presented, of the date, at Elgin, the 26th day of the month of August in the year of the Lord 1556, and of the reign of the said most serene Lady the Queen, the 14th year: and we, forsooth, regarding these requisitions and askings to be just and consonant to reason, and willing to fulfil, as we are bound, the mandate of our said Lady the Queen, contained in her letters of presentation, do, on account of his merits and fitness, admit the said Sir John, so, as is premised, by our oftsaid most serene Lady the Queen, elected, nominated, and presented, as chaplain of the said chaplainry of Saint Ninian, with 40s of the lands called Petkarrell, with croft belonging to the said chaplainry, together with another croft, and relics of the crucifix of Saint Drostan, within the said parish of Urquhart—and the said presentation, in so far as it is lawfully made, we deem to be approved and confirmed, as by the tenor of these presents, and by our authority ordinary, we do approve and confirm; committing by these presents the cure and administration of the said chaplainry, in the chapel thereof, to the said Sir John, provided that by Sir John himself personally, or by another capable presbyter, it shall be duly exercised therein, lest the souls of the founders thereof should be defrauded of their prayers due and wont: you therefore, and each of you, in virtue of holy obedience, and under pain of suspension from divine things, which we, by these presents, do threaten on you and everyone of you if ye delay what we command, straitly charging that forthwith ye give and deliver, induct, and institute, the said Sir John Donaldson or his lawful procurator in his name, in real, actual,

and corporal possession of the aforesaid chaplainry, with all and sundry its rights, crofts, oblations, annual rents, and relics of the crucifix of St Drostan, and other pertinents whatsoever, used and wont to be paid, by whatever name called, belonging or that may in any way justly belong to the oftsaid chaplainry of St Ninian, called Petkarall, by delivery of chalice and mass book, and the ornaments of the altar thereof; and that ye cause to be answered to him and his factors, and to none other, of all and sundry fruits, rents, crofts, oblations, lands, relics of Saint Drostan, and other commodities of the same; straitly inhibiting therefrom gainsayers and rebels, if any there be, by our authority ordinary: In witness whereof, we have ordered and caused these presents to be corroborated by the appending of our round seal, together with the subscription manual of the notary public underwritten, notary in the premises; upon which all and sundry the premises, the said Sir John Donaldson admitted, craved from me, notary public underwritten, one or more public instruments to be made to him: These things were done in the garden of the said reverend father, situated at the palace of Spynie, about the fourth hour after noon of the second day of the month of September in the year of the Lord 1556, the fourteenth indiction, and second year of the pontificate of the most holy father in Christ, and our lord, Paul IV. by the divine providence, Pope: there being present, Mr David Trumpbill, chaplain of the said reverend father, and William Wallace his servant, witnesses called and required to the premises.

And I, William Douglas, presbyter of the diocese of St Andrews, notary public; whereas at the production of the foregoing presentation, and admission thereupon granted, &c.

And I, truly, Sir John Paulson, junior, vicar of Kilmaly, presbyter of the diocese of Lesmore, and notary public, executor of the before written letters of collation, together with the afore written Sir John Donaldson, principal, went personally to the chapel of Saint Ninian and parochial church of Urquhart, of the diocese of Moray, and there inducted, instituted, and invested, as the manner is, the same Sir John to the chaplainry and service of Saint Ninian, Drostan, and Adampnan, with the 40s of lands called Petkerral, with the croft of Saint Adampnan, relics of the crucifix, and croft belonging to the said chaplainry, together with the croft and relics of Saint Drostan, situated and founded within the parish of Urquhart, as is before written, by delivery of the horns of the high altar, and ornaments of the same, keys of the doors, and ropes of the bells of the aforesaid churches, and the said Sir John Donaldson himself in and to the actual, real, and corporal possession of the rights and pertinents of the afore

written chaplainries, according to the terms of the aforewritten collation: And the said Sir John Donaldson, inducted, instituted, and invested in the same chaplainries, with the fruits thereof, I have dismissed in peace, nobody gainsaying: In witness of the which thing, this present institution, written with my own hand, and subscribed, and with sign, surname, and subscription, on the 11th June, 1559, 17th indiction, and second year of the pontificate of the most holy father and lord in Christ, our lord Paul fourth, by divine providence Pope:[1] there being present John Dow M'Gorwin, Donill M'Innes, parish clerk, John M'Kandoch [Son of the Merchant], John M'Evyn M'Villiam, and me, notary underwritten, with divers others.

So it is, Sir John Paulson, vicar of Kilmaly, of the diocese of Lesmore, and notary public, and executor of the aforewritten collation, and giver of institution, in faith and testimony of the premises, all and sundry—witness my hand.

APPENDIX N (Pages 347 and 392).

Stipend of the Parish Minister at Various Periods.

In 1572 there was no minister, but Mr James Farquharson, the old parish priest, was exhorter, at a salary of £40 per annum. (Register of Ministers and their Stipends—MS. in Advocates' Library).

In 1574 the following entry appears in the Register of Assignations for the Ministers' Stipends (MS. Advocates' Library).

"... Reidare at Urquhart, his stipend xx markis, wt the Kirklands, to be payit out of the chancellarye of Murray be the takkismen or parochinaris of Urquhart [or] be the chancellare, as the Redare sall choose.

"... Reidar at Glenmoreistown, his stipend xx m'ks, wt the Kirklands, to be payit out of the chancellarie of Murray be the takkismen or parochineris of Glenmoreistown, or be the chancellare, as the reidare sall choose."

In this Register there is a blank space for the minister of the Parish and his stipend. In the Rev. John Grant's time (1740 to 1792) the stipend was 800 merks, with 50 merks for communion elements, the minister being also entitled to 600 loads of peats, or 3d for each load not delivered (Presbytery Records). In 1796 it was raised to the value of £100, and £5 for communion elements (Old Statistical Account). In 1821 it was fixed at 16 chalders of victual, "half meal half barley," with £8 6s 8d for communion elements, a chalder being equal

[1] There is an error in these dates. If the year 1559 is correct, it should be the 2nd indiction and fourth year of the pontificate of Paul IV.

to 16 bolls. In 1860 the number of chalders was increased to 18, and in 1883 to 21, the allowance for communion elements remaining at £8 6s 8d (Teind Records).

APPENDIX O (Page 416).

SELECTIONS FROM THE PRODUCTIONS OF THE BARDS.

I. Coiriarairidh.

(By Ewen Macdonald).

This old and beautiful, if somewhat extravagant, song, in praise of Coiriarairidh in Glenmoriston, was taken down by the Author in 1871, from John Macgillivray, Tornabrack, Glen-Urquhart, who was probably at the time the only person alive who could repeat it. In December, 1886, the Author gave a copy of it and of the songs of Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain, which he had also taken down from oral recitation, and printed in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness for 1883, to the late Rev. Allan Sinclair, who printed them in "The Grants of Glenmoriston," published in 1887.

Mo run Coiriarairidh 'sam bi an liath chearc,
'S an coileach ciar-dhubh is ciataich pung,
Le chearcag riabhach, gu stuirteil fiata,
Is e ga h-iarraidh air feadh nan tom.
An Coire rùnach sam bi na h-ubhlan,
A fàs gu cùbhraidh fo dhrùchdaibh trom,
Gu meallach sughmhor ri tim na dùlachd,
'S gach lusan ùrair tha fàs air fonn.

'S e Coire 'n ruaidh bhuic, 's na h-eilde ruaidhe
A bhios a cluaineis am measg nan craoibh,
'San doire ghuanach le fhalluing uaine,
Gur e is suaicheantas do gach coill;
Cha ghabh e fuarachd, cha rois am fuachd e,
Fo chomhdach uasal a là sa dh' oidhch';
Bith' 'n eilid uallach 'sa laogh mu'n cuairt dhi
A cadal uaigneach ri gualainn tuim.

Buidhe tiorail, torrach sianail,
Tha ruith an iosail le mheilsean feòir,
O 'n chlach is isle, gu braigh na criche,
Tha luachair mhin ann, 'us ciob an lòin.
Tha luachair mhin ann, 'us ros an t-sioda,
Is luaidhe mhiltich 'us meinn an òir,
'S na h-uile ni air an smaoinich d' inntinn,
A dh' fhaodas cinntinn an taobh s' 'n Roimh.

Tha sgadan garbh-ghlas a snamh na fairg' ann
Is bradain tairgheal is lionmhor lann;
Gu h-iteach meanbh-bhreac, gu giurach mealgach,
Nach fuiling anabas a dhol na chòir,
A snamh gu luaineach, 's an sàl mu'n cuairt dha,
'S cha ghabh e fuadach o 'n chuan ghlas ghorm,
Le luingeis eibhinn, a dol fo'n eideadh,
Le gaoth 'ga 'n seideadh is iad fo sheòl.

Tha madadh ruadh ann, is mar bhuachaill
Air caoraich shuas-ud, air fuarain ghorm;
Aig meud a shuairceas, cha dean e 'm fuadach,
Ge d' bheir thu duais dha, cha luaidh e feòil;
Gum paigh e cinnteach na theid a dhìth dhiubh
Mur dean e 'm pilltinn a rithist beò,
'S ged 's iomadh linn a tha dhe shinns'reachd,
Cha d' rinn iad ciobair a dh' fhear de sheòrs'.

Tha 'n Leathad-fearna, tha 'n cois a' bhràighe
'Na ghleannan àluinn a dh' arach bhò,
Toilinntinn àraich, a bhìos a thamh ann,
Cha luidh gu bràch air a' ghaillionn reòt;
Bith' muighe 's càis' ann, gu la Fheill-Martuinn,
'S an crodh fo dhàir a bhios mu na chrò,
Air la Fheill-Bride bith cur an t-sìl ann,
Toirt toraidh cinnteach a rìs na lorg.

Gu dealtach féurach, moch maduinn cheitein,
Tha 'n Coire géugach fo shleibhtean gorm,
Bith 'n smeorach cheutach air bhar na géige,
'S a cruit ga gléusadh a sheinn a ceòil;
Bith 'n eala ghle-gheal, 's na glas-gheoidh 'g eubhachd,
'S a chubhag eibhinn bho meilse glòir;
B'ait leum fein bhi air cnoc 'gan eisdeachd,
'S a ribheid féin ann am béul gach eòin.

Ged tha mo chomhnuidh fo sgail na Sròine,
'S e chleachd o m' òige bhi 'm chomhnuidh thall
'S a Choire bhoidheach, le luibhean sòghmhor,
Is e a leòn mi nach 'eil mi ann;
Mo chridh' tha brònach, gun dad a sheol air,
'S a liuthad sòlais a fhuair mi ann,
'S bho 'n dhiult Ian Og dhomh Ruigh'-Uiseig bhoidheach
Gur fheudar seòladh a chòir nan Gàll.

Ged fhaighinn rioghachd, a ni 'sa daoine,
Cha treig an gaol mi a tha na m' chom,
A thug mi dh' aon, 'th' air a chur le saoir,
An ciste chaoil, a dh' fhag m' inntinn trom.
Na 'm biodh tu làthair gu'm faighinn làrach,
Gun dol gu bràch as, gun mhàl gun bhonn—
A Righ a's àirde, cuir buaidh is gràs air
An linn a dh' fhàg thu aig Hanah dhonn.

II. Oran do Domhnuill Ban Mac Dhomhnuill Duibh, le Mrs Cameron, Bean nan Cluainean, 's a Bhliadhna 1746.

Air fhonn fhein.

(By Janet Grant of Shewglie, wife of Cameron of Clunes).[1]

Beir mo shoruidh le durachd
A dh' fhios na duthcha so dh' fhag mi,
Gu ceannard Lochabar,
E thigh'nn dhachaigh gu sabhailt:
O na chaidh tu air astar
'S gun d' aisig thu 'n Fhraing uainn;
'S gun cluinninn deagh-sgeul ort
Ann cliu 's ann céill mar a b'abhaisd.

Is a Dhomhnuill Bháin Abraich,
Gur a farsuinn do chairdeas;
'S laidir lionmhor do Chinneadh,
Anns gach ionad n do thàmh iad;
Na 'n cuireadh tu feum orr'
'S gun tigeadh eiginn na càs ort,
'S iad gun deanadh do fhreagairt
Le piob spreageanda laidir.

'S ann fior-thoiseach an Fhoghair
A dh' fhalbh uainn Tagha nan Gaël;
'S tu gun reachadh air t' adhart.
'S cha b'ann mar chladhaire sgathach!
Le d' phrasgan treun cinnteach
Nach ciobradh gu brách ort,
Nach tilleadh an aodunn
Romh chaonnag an Namhaid.

[1] See p. 414. This song is taken from an old MS. copy of it—supposed to be in Mrs Cameron's own handwriting—printed by the Rev. Dr Stewart, Nether-Lochaber, in the *Inverness Courier* of 14th October, 1887.

Gu bheil mise fo mhi-ghean
'S fo thiamhachd gu bráth dheth,
Mu 'm chleamhnean mór, priseil,
A bhi 'dhith orm an trath sa,
Luchd a bhualadh nam buillean
'S nach fhuiligeadh támailt:
Sibh a b' urrainn sa' chruadal
An àm buannachd na lárach.

Fhuair uaillsean do chinnidh,
Ann 's an iomairt so 'n ciúrradh,
Co dh' eirgheadh sa' chás sin,
Na dh' fhàgadh an cliu iad,
'N àm rúsgadh nan claidheamh,
Sibh nach gabhadh an diulta,
'S a rachadh air thoiseach
Ann an toiteal an fhúdair.

'N am eigheach an latha
A Chraobh do'n athull bu Chinntich'!
Tha thu shliochd nam fear guinneach
A bha gu fulangach rioghail,
Ged a thuit sibh gun mhasladh
Ann an aicsion an Righ so,
Tha mo dhuil anns an Athair
Gun dean iad fathasd dhuit cinntinn.

'Nuair a shaoil le Diuc Uilleam
Gu 'm buineadh e cìs diot,
Gun tugadh e steach thu
Le *protection* a sgriobhtadh;
'S tu nach gabhadh a mhasladh
Gun t'fhacall bhi cinnteach
Do'n Chrún a bha dligheach
'S ga 'm bu chubhaidh bhi priseil.

Ge do loisg iad do dhuthaich,
'S ge do spùill iad t' fhearann,
A Righ dhuilich is airde!
'S tu dh' fhuasglas trath as gach caingeann,
Tha thu nise 'san Fhràing uainn
Neo-air-thaing do na Gallaibh,
'S bi'dh tu fathasd ann uachdar,
A dh' aon uabhairt gam faigh thu.

'Nuair a thainig an Righ sinn
'S a liobhraig e 'stannart
'S tu 'fhuair e gu dileas
'S nach do dhibir do ghealladh;
Dhiult Mac Coinnich 's Mac Leòid sibh,
Dhiult Mac Dhomhnuill 's Mac Ailein,
Beir mo mhallachd gu leir dhoibh
Nach d' eirich iad mair dhuit.

Ghlac thu misneach, 's bu dual duit
A bhi gu cruadalach, gaisgeil;
Gun robh meas aig fir Alb' ort,
Ga do shnas thu le graide,
O 'n a chuir thu do dhuil ann
'S nach bu diù leat a sheachnadh,
Ge do gheibheadh tu 'n rioghachd
'S tu nach diobradh air t' fhacall!

Cha 'n 'eil thus' ach na d' leanamh
Laimh ri d' sheanair 'sa' chàs ud,
Ann am foghainteas pearsann
'Nuair a ghlacadh e 'n t-àrdan,
'S e 's garradh a naimhdean
'S a bhuineadh buaidhlarach,
Gach aon la mar Raon-Ruairi,
Gun robh buaidh air 's gach aite!

An là sin Chuilfhodair,
Na fosaibh ri innse,
Na gabhaibh as masladh
Cha be bhur 'n aicsion a dhibir;
Ach bhur daoine bhi sgapta:
Nam prasgan 's gach tir uaibh,
Is nach tug Morfhear Deorsa
Dhuibh an t' ordugh bu mhiann leibh.

Gur e là a' chruaidh-fhortain
A chuir an t-olc feadh na rioghachd
'S ioma fear bha gu bochd dheth,
Neo-shocrach na inntinn;
Dh' fhag e mise fo mhulad
Nach urrainn mi innse,
Gu bheil t'oighreachd is t'fhearann
Air an ceangal do'n Righ so.

Ma gheibh thusa saoghal
Nan daoine bho 'n d' thainig,
Gun cuir thu fir Shasann
Fo smachd mar a b' aill leat;
Bu tu 'n Leomhann 's an Curaidh,
A chraobh mhullaich thar cach thu;
C'àite bheil e air talamh
Na thug barrachd air t' áilleachd!

III. Sacred Song.

(By John Grant, Aonach).

Gu'r a mise tha truagh dheth,
Air an uair-s' tha mi cràiteach;
'S cha 'n e nitheanan saoghalt',
A dh' fhaodas mo thearnadh,
No 's urrainn mo leigheas
Ach an Lighich' is airde;
Oir 's E rinn ar ceannach,
Chum ar n-anam a thearnadh.

Gu ar tearnadh o chunnart,
Do dh' fhuiling ar Slan'ear,
Air sgath a shluaigh uile,
Gu an cumail bho 'n namhad.
Do thriall o uchd Athair,
Gus an gath thoirt o 'n bhàs dhuinn,
'N uair a riaraich E ceartas,
Air Seachduinn na Caisge.

Air Seachduinn na Caisge,
Chaidh ar Slàn'ear a cheusadh,
'S a chur ri crann direach
Gu 'chorp prìseil a reubadh.
Chuir iad àlach 'na chasan,
'S 'na bhasan le chéile,
Is an t-sleagh ann na chliabhaich,
'Ga riabadh le géir-ghath.

Sud an sluagh bha gun tròcair,
Gun eòlas gun aithne,
Mac Dhé 'bhi 'san t-seòls' ac',
'S iad a spòrs' air, 'sa fanaid.
Dara Pearsa na Trianaid
'Chruthaich grian agus gealach,
Dhoirt E fuil airson siochaint,
Gu siorruidh do'r n-anam'.

Ann an laithean ar n-òige
Bha sinn gòrach 'san àm sin,
A caitheamh ar n-ùine,
Gun ùrnuigh gun chràbhadh ;
Ach cia mar bhios sin an duil
Gum faigh sinn rùm ann am Paras,
Mar treig sinn am peacadh
Gus an tachair am bas ruinn !

Tha na'r peacaidh cho lionmhor
Ris an t-siol tha 's an aiteach,
Ann an smuain, ann an gniomh'ran,
'N uair a leughar na h-aithntean.
Air gach latha ga'm bristeadh
Gun bhonn meas air an t-Sàbaid,
'S mar creid sinn an Fhirinn
Theid 'ar diteadh gu bràcha.

Cuim' nach faigheadh sinn sùilean
Bho 'n triuir chaidh san àmhainn,
Chionn 's nach deanadh iad ùmhlachd
Ach do na Dùilean is airde ;
'Steach an sud chaidh an dùnadh,
Chionn 's nach lubadh do 'n namhad,
Ach cha tug e orr' tionndadh
Dh' aindeoin luban an t-Satain.

Ged rinn iad seachd uairean
'Teasach' suas a cur blaths' innt',
Bha an creideamh-sa daingean,
Is soilleir, cha d' fhailing ;
Cha robh snaithean air duin' ac',
No urrad 'us fabhrad
Air a losgadh mu'n cuairt dhoibh,
Oir bha 'm Buachaille laidir.

Tha cuid anns an t-saoghal,
A bhios daonnan a tional ;
'Cuid eile a sgaoileadh,
Cha 'n ann gu saorsa do 'n anam,
Ach a riarach' na feòla
Le 'n cuid ròic agus caitheamh ;
Ge b' e dh' fhanas 'san t-seòl so,
Thig an lò bhios e aithreach.

Oir cha 'n 'eil iad an tòir
Air an t-sòlas nach teirig,
No smuain' air an dòruinn
Gheibh mòran bhios coireach;
Ged a dh' fhuiling ar Slan'ear
Gu 'ar tearnadh bho Ifrinn,
'S iad a chreideas a thearnar,
'S theid cacha a sgriosadh.

IV. Oran air Gleannamoireasduinn.

(By Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain).

Thoir mo shoraidh le failte
Dh' fhios an ait 'm bheil mo mheanmhuinn,
Gu Duthaich Mhic Phadruig
'S an d' fhuair mi 'm' arach 's mi 'm leanaban;
Gar am faicinn gu brath i
Cha leig mi chail ud air dhearmad—
Meud a' mhulaïd bh' air pairt dhiubh
Anns an damhar 'an d' fhalbh mi.

Chorus—Thoir mo shòlas do'n duthaich
'S bidh mo rùn dhi gu m' eug,
Far am fasadh a' ghiubhsach
'S an goireadh smudan air ghéig;
Thall an aodainn an Dùnain
Chluinnte 'thuchan gu reith
Moch 's a' mhaduinn ri driuchd,
An àm dusgadh do'n ghrein.

'S truagh nach mise bha'n drasta
Far am b'abhaist domh taghal,
Mach ri aodainn nan ard-bheann,
'S a stigh ri sail Carn-na-Fiudhaich,
Far am faicinn an lan-damh
'Dol gu laidir 'na shiubhal,
'S mar beanadh leon no bonn-craidh dha,
Bu mhath a chail do na bhruthach.
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

Gheibhte boc ann an Ceannachroc,
Agus earb anns an Doire,
Coileach-dubh an Allt-Riamhaich
Air bheag iarraidh 's a' choille;

Bhiodh an liath-chearc mar gheard air
'G innse dhan dha roimh theine,
'S ma'n ceart a bheanadh an bas dha
Thug ise 'gradh do dh-fhear eile.
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

Gheibhte ràc is lach riabhach
Anns an riasg air Loch-Coilleig,
Coileach-ban air an iosal
Mu rudha 'n iath-dhoire 'taghal—
Tha e duilich a thialadh
Mur cuir sibh 'sgialachd na m' aghaidh—
Is tric a chunnaic sinn sealgair
Greis air falbh gun dad fhaighinn.
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

Gheibhte gruagaichean laghach
Bhiodh a' taghal 's na gleanntaibh,
Ag iomain spreidh is dha'm bleoghann
An tim an fhoghar 's an t-samhraidh;
Am por a dheanainn a thaghadh—
'S gur iad roghuinn a b' annsa—
Briodal beoil gun bhonn coire
Nach tigeadh soilleir gu call dhuinn—
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

Tha mo chion air mo leannan
Leis nach b' aithreach mo luaidh rith'—
Tha a slios mar an canach,
No mar eala nan cuaintean;
Tha a pog air bhlas fhiogais
'S gur glan siolaidh a gruaidhean,
Suil ghorm is glan sealladh
A's caol mhala gun ghruaimean,
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

Fiach nach 'eil thu an duil
Gu bheil mi, 'ruin, is tu suarach,
No gu'n cuir mi mo chul riut
Airson diombaidh luchd-fuatha;
Tha mo chridhe cho ùr dhuit
'S a' chiad la 'n tùs thug mi luaidh dhuit,
'S gus an càirear 'san uir mi
Bidh mo shuil riut, a ghruagaich.
Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

'S iomadh aite 'n robh m' eolas—
  Chaidh mi oga do'n armachd—
'S luchd nam fasan cha b' eol domh,
  O 'n a sheol mi thair fairge;
An caithe-beatha, 'san stuaimeachd,
  Ann an uaisle gun anbharr,
Thug mi'n t-uram thair sluaigh dhaibh
  'San Taobh-Tuath as an d' fhalbh mi.
    Thoir mo shòlas, &c.

V. Oran an t-Siosalaich.

(By Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain).

'S i so deoch slaint an t-Siosalaich,
  Le meas cuir i mu'n cuairt;
Cuir air a' bhord na shireas sinn,
Ged chosd' e moran ghinidhean,
Lion botal lan de mhir' an t-sruth,
  'S dean linne dhe na chuaich—
Olaibh as i, 's e bhur beath',
  A's bithibh teth gun ghruaim!

'M beil fear an so a dhiùltas i?
  Dean cunntas ris gun dail!
Gu 'n tilg sinn air ar culthaobh e,
'Sa' chuideachd so cha 'n fhiu leinn e,
An dorus theid a dhunadh air
  Gu drùidte leis a' bharr,
'S theid 'iomain diombach chum an dùin
  Mas mill e 'n rùm air cach!

Is measail an am tionail thu,
  Fir ghrinn is glaine snuadh,
Le d' chul donn, 's suil ghorm cheannardach,
Cha toirear cùis a dh-aindeoin diot,
Is cha bu shùgradh teannadh riut
  An ain-iochd no 'm beairt chruaidh—
Is mi nach iarradh fear mo ghaoil
  Thighinn ort is e fo d' fhuath!

Na 'n tigeadh forsa namhaid
  Air a' chearnaidh so 'n Taobh-Tuath,
Bhiodh tusa le do phairtidh ann,
Air toiseach nam batailleanan,

Toirt brosnachaidh neo-sgathaich dhaibh,
Gu cach a chur 's an ruaig—
Is fhada chluiunte fuaim an lamhach
Toirt air an laraich buaidh.

'S na'n eireadh comhstri ainmeil,
Is na 'n gairmeadh oirnn gu buaidh,
Bhiodh tusa le do chairdean ann—
Na Glaisich mhaiseach, laideara—
Is cha bu chulaidh-fharmaid leam
Na thachradh oirbh 's an uair—
Le luathas na dreige' 's cruas na creige,
A' beumadh mar bu dual!

Is sealgar fhiadh 'san fhireach thu;
Le d' ghillean bheir thu cuairt,
Le d' cheum luthmhor, spioradail,
Le d' ghunna ur-ghleus, innealta,
Nach diùlt an t-sradag iongantach
Ri fudar tioram cruaidh—
'S bu tu marbhaich damh na croic'
Is namhaid a' bhuic ruaidh.

Cha mhios an t-iasgair bhradan thu
Air linne chas nam bruach;
Gu dubhach, driamlach, slat-chuibhleach,
Gu morghach, geur-chaol, sgait-bhiorach,
'S co-dheas a h-aon a thachras riut
Dhe'n 'n acfhuinn-s' tha mi luaidh,
'S cha 'n 'eil innleachd aig mac Gaidheil
Air a' cheaird tha bhuat.

Is iomadh buaidh tha sinte riut
Nach urrar innse 'n drasd;
Gu seimhidh, suairce, siobhalta,
Gu smachdail, beachdail, inntinneach,
Tha gradh gach duine chi thu dhuit,
'S cha 'n ioghnadh ged a tha—
Is uasal, eireachdail do ghiùlan,
Is fhuair thu cliu thar chach.

Is ghabh thu ceile ghnathaichte
Thaobh naduir mar bu dual;
Fhuair thu aig a' chaisteal i,
'S ga ionnsuidh thug thu dhachaidh i,

Nighean Mhic 'Ic Alasdair
Bho Gharaidh nan sruth fuar—
Slios mar fhaoilinn, gruaidh mar chaoruinn,
Mala chaol gun ghruaim!

VI. Is Cianail an Rathad 's mi Gabhail a' Chuain.

(By Alasdair Mac Iain Bhain)

Is cianail an rathad
'S mi gabhail a' chuain,
Sinn a' triall ri droch shide
Na h-Innseachan Shuas—
Na cruinn oirnn a' lubadh,
'S na siuil ga 'n toirt uainn,
An long air a lethtaobh
A' gleachd ris na stuagh.

Diciadain a dh' fhalbh sinn,
'S bu ghailbheach an uair,
Cha deach sinn moran mhiltean
'Nuair shin e ruinn cruaidh;
'S gu'n chriochnaich pairt dhinn
'S an aite 'n robh 'n uair,
'S tha fios aig *Rock Sàile*
Mar thearuinn sinn uaith!

Seachd seachdainean dubhlach,
De dh'uine gle chruaidh,
Bha sinn ann an cùram,
Gun duil a bhi buan—
Sior phumpaigeadh buirn aisd
An cunntas nan uair,
'S cha bu luaith dol an diosg' dhi
Na lionadh i suas.

Tha onfhadh na tide
Toirt ciosnachaidh mhoir
As a' mharsanta dhileas
Nach diobair a seol;
Tha tuilleadh 's a giulan
Ag usbairt ri 'sroin,
'S i 'n cunnart a muchadh
Ma dhuineas an ceo.

Tha luchd air a h-uchd
A' toirt murt air a bord,
Neart soirbheis o'n iar
A toirt sniomh air a seol—
Muir dhu-ghorm eitidh
Ag eirigh ri 'sroin,
'S le buadhadh na séide
'S tric eiginn tighinn oirnn.

Tha gaoth is clach-mheallain
A' leantuinn ar cùrs,
Smuid mhor oirnn ag eirigh
Do na speuran gu dlùth;
'S e *quadrant* na greine
Tha toir leirsinn do 'n t-suil,
Co 'n rathad a theid sinn
Le léideadh na stiuir.

Stiuir thairis i, *Adam*,
Ma tha e do run,
Cum direach do chars
Ann an aird na cairt-iuil,[1]
'S ma ruigeas sinn sabhailt
An t-ait tha ar duil,
Gu 'n ol sinn deoch-slainte
Na dh' fhag sinn air chul.

B' i sin an deoch-shlainte
Nach aicheadh'nn uair
Ged dh' fheumainn a paigheadh
A bharr air a luach—
Do ruma mhath laidir,
G'a sharr chur mu 'n cuairt,
Mar chuimhn' air na cairdean
Tha thamh 'san Taobh-Tuath.

Fhir a theid a dh-Alba
Tha m' earbsa ro mhor
Gu'n taghail thu 'n rathad
Thoir naigheachd na 's beo—
Thoir soraidh le durachd
Do dhuthaich Iain Oig[2]
O dh' fhagas tu Rusgaich
Gu Lunndaidh nam bo.

1 *Or*, Cum direach an talan air bharr na cairt-iuil.
2 *Iain Og*.—Colonel John Grant of Glenmoriston, who succeeded to the estate in December, 1773, and died in September, 1801.

VII. Oran Bhraigh Rusgaich.

(By Iain Mac Dhughaill).

Ged is socrach mo leabaidh,
Cha'n e cadal tha shùrd orm;
B' anns' bhi suainnt' ann am breacan
Ann an glaiceagan Rusgaich.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

B' anns' bhi suainnt' an am breacan
Ann an glaiceagan Rusgaich,
Far am minic a bha mi,
Iomadh la, air bheag curam.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Far am minic a bha mi,
Iomadh la, air bheag curam,
'S bhiodh mo ghunna fo m' achlais,
Cumail fasgadh o'n driuchd oirr'.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Bhiodh mo ghunna fo m' achlais,
Cumail fasgadh o'n driuchd oirr';
'S air thruimid na fraise,
'S i a lasadh am fudar.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Air thruimid na fraise,
'S i a lasadh am fudar;
Cha b'e clagraich nan sràidean[1]
So a b' abhaist mo dhusgadh.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha b'e clagraich nan sràidean
So a b' abhaist mo dhusgadh;
Cha b'e clag nan cuig uairean
Bhiodh a' m' chluasan a dusgadh.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha b'e clag nan cuig uairean
Bhiodh a' m' chluasan a dusgadh,
Ach an ceileir bu bhoidhche
Aig na h-eoin am Braigh Rusgaich.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

[1] The Bard composed the song in Edinburgh.

Ach an ceileir bu bhoidhche
Aig na h-eoin am Braigh Rusgaich;
Bhiodh a' chuthag air chreagan,
'S i toirt freagairt do 'n smudan.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Bhiodh a' chuthag air chreagan,
'S i toirt freagairt do 'n smudan;
'S bhiodh a' smeorach gu h-arda,
'S i air bharr nam bad du-ghorm.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Bhiodh a' smeorach gu h-arda,
'S i air bharr nam bad du-ghorm;
Agus *Robin* gu h-iosal
Ann an iochdar nan dluth-phreas.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Agus *Robin* gu h-iosal
Ann an iochdar nan dluth-phreas,
Anns nam meanganaibh boidheach,
'S damh na cròice 'gan rusgadh.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Anns nam meanganaibh boidheach,
'S damh na cròice 'gan rusgadh;
'S nuair thigeadh oidhche Fheill-an-Ròide
'S ann leam bu bhoidheach a bhuirich.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

'Nuair thigeadh oidhche Fheill-an-Ròide
'S ann leam bu bhoidheach a bhuirich,
'S e ag iarraidh a chéile
An deigh eiridh o'n ur-pholl.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

'S e ag iarraidh a chéile
An deigh eiridh o'n ur-pholl;
'S ann an sid bhiodh an fhailte
Ris an leannan bu chuirteil.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

'S ann an sid bhiodh an fhailte
Ris an leannan bu chuirteil;
Es' ag iarraidh a cairdeas,
'S ise 's nair' le' a dhiultadh.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Es' ag iarraidh a cairdeas,
'S ise 's nair' le' a dhiultadh;
'S ged a laidheadh iad le chéile
Cha chuir a chleir orra curam.
Horò, hu-ill horò!

Ged a laidheadh iad le chéile
Cha chuir a chleir orra curam;
Cha teid iad gu seisean,
'S cha 'n fhaicear ag cuirt iad.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha teid iad gu seisean,
'S cha 'n fhaicear ag cuirt iad;
Cha teid e 'n tigh-osda,
Cha n.hath a chòrdas an lionn ris.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha teid e 'n tigh-osda,
Cha mhath a chòrdas an lionn ris;
'S cha 'n fhearr thig an drama
Ris a' stamac is cubhraidh.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha 'n fhearr thig an drama
Ris a' stamac is cubhraidh;
'S mor gur h-anns' leis am fior-uisg
Thig o iochdar nan dluth-chreag.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

'S mor gur h-anns' leis am fior-uisg
Thig o iochdar nan dluth-chreag;
Cha b'e faileadh na cladhan
A gheibhte 'n doire mo ruin-sa.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Cha b'e faileadh nan cladhan
A gheibhte 'n doire mo ruin-sa,
Ach trom fhaileadh na meala
Dhe na meanganaibh ura.
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

Ach trom fhaileadh na meala
Dhe na meanganaibh ura;
'S co 's urrainn a radhte
Nach bidh mi fhathast ann an Rusgaich!
Horò, hu-ill, horò!

VIII. Oran Gaoil do Mhaighdeann Og a chaidh dh' America.

(By Archibald Grant).

'S mor mo mhuladsa ri sheinn—
Ach is fheudar innseadh—
Mu 'n nighneag og is grinn tha beo,
A rinn leon air m' inntinn;
Tha 'gruaidh mar ros, suil mheallach mhor,
Is blas a poig mar fhigis;
Cuir mo bheannachdsa na deigh
Na h-uile ceum a ni i.

Fhir a theid thairis air na stuaidh,
Thoir soraidh bh' uam mas pill thu,
Agus innis di mar tha mi
O'n a dh' fhag i 'n rioghachd;
Na 'm bu talamh bha 'sa' chuan,
Ged us buan na milltean,
'S gar an ruiginn thall gu brath,
Gu 'n d' fhalbh mi maireach cinnteach.

'S ann air chionn 's nach robh sinn posda,
Is ordugh o na' chleir ort,
Sud an t-sian a rinn mo leon,
Is mi bhi 'n comhnuidh 'n deidh ort;
Nuair a dh' eireadh tu 'san rum,
An am a' chiuil a ghleusadh—
Slios mar bradan air ghrunnd aigeil,
Fonnail, banail, ceilleil!

'S gu'r a math thig dhut an gun,
Tionndadh anns an ruidhle,
Agus neapuig bho 'n a' bhuth,
A bhiodh na cruin, de 'n t' sioda,
Mu d' chiochan corrach, is iad lan,
'S mu bhroilleach ban mo ribhinn—
Slios mar chanach bhiodh air blar,
Na eala snamh air linntinn.

Aghaidh shiobhalta 's i tlath,
Gu caoimhneil, baghach, miogach,
Deud mar chailc 's iad fallain slan,
O 'n d' thig an gaire finealt;

Beul is dreachmor a ni manran,
Gradh gach duine chi i—
'S ged a dh' fhanainnsa mo thamh,
Gu'n innseadh cach an fhirinn.

Tha t' fhalt camalubach fainneach,
'S e gu bhar 'na thithean,
Dualach, caisreagach, a fas,
Mar theud air strac na fidhle;
Grinn, gu dualach, casbhuidh, cuachach,
Sios ri cluais a sineadh,
Is nial an oir, air dhath an eorna—
Chaoidh cha leon na cirean.

Tha 'bian mar chnaimh a bhiodh ri sian,
No mar a' ghrian air sleibhtean,
No mar chanach min an t-sleibh
Na sneachda geal air gheugan;
Tha gradh gach leannan aic 'ga mhealladh,
'S iomadh fear thug speis dhi;
'S is cinnteach mi gu'n d' thug i barr,
Air Grainne bha 'san Fheinn ac.

Troidh is cumair theid am brog,
A shiubhlas comhnard direach,
Agus bucallan ga 'n dunadh—
'S leannan ur do righ thu;
'S ged robh airgiod 'na mo phocaid,
Corr 'us fichead mile,
Cha do ghabh mi te ri phosadh
Ach bean og nam miogshuil!

IX. Grace Before Meat.

(By Angus Macculloch).

A Thi bheannaicht', gabh rium truas!
'S olc mo thuar, 's cha'n fhearr mo chail;
Sgadain cho dubh ris a ghual,
Is roiseagan fuara buntat!
'S ann agamsa tha 'mhuime chruaidh,
Gun iochd, gun thruas, gun ghradh;
Ach cha bhi ise fada buan,
Oir chuala mi Di-luain a taibh's!

X. Song to Captain Hugh Grant, Lochletter.

(By Lewis Cameron).

Soraidh uamsa suas 'na' Bhraighe,
Dh'ios an uasail, shuairce, shar-mhaith,
Choisinn buaidh gach uair 's na blàraibh—
De 'n fhuil uasail, chlann nan Gaidheal,
Anns na gruaidhean 's glainne dearsadh.
Hò, hì, hùro, hòro, héile,
Far an laidh thu, slan gun eirich!

Gu Caiptein Huistein na féile,
Tha mo dhurachdsa gu m' euga;
Leanainn thu 's gach taobh an teid thu;
Calpa cruinn an t-siubhail eutrom,
Feileadh pleatach leat a b' eibhinn,
Is sporran ròmach 's òr ga sheuladh.
Hò, hì, etc.

Chìte sud thu mar bu mhiann leat,
Tighinn a mach ri maduinn ghrianach,
Fhir a' chridhe fharsuinn fhialaidh,
Tighinn gu faramach a dh' iasgach,
Tighinn gu cladaichean Loch Mhiachdlaidh,
Le dubhan gartach, slat is driamlach.
Hò, hì, etc.

Bu bhinn leam bhi' g' eisdeachd 'chrònan,
Aig do fhleasgaichean ag oran,
'S tu dol a mach a' gabhail *voyage*
'Na do bhàta ramhach ordail;
'S ur gach crann, gach ramh, is ròp dhi,
'S cha'n fhaca mi 'san Taobh Tuath cho boidhche.
Hò, hì, etc.

Dh-aithn'inn do chas-cheum gu h-aotrom,
Direadh ri bealach nan aonach,
Le do phrasgan is tlachdmhor dhaoine,
Gunna snaipe 'n glaic an laoich,
Le do churrachd chopair a lot a' mhaoiseach,
'S do pheileir gorm guineach 'na gurrach a dh-aon teas.
Hò, hì, etc.

Dh-aithn'inn thu, a Ghaidheil chruadail,
Direadh ri ard nam fuar bheann,
Le d' mhiall-choin ri d' shail 'san uair sin,
'S do spainteach 's do lamh man cuairt dhi;
'N uair bheumadh spor gheur ri cruaidh leat,
Bhiodh fuil an daimh chabraich a' frasadh air luachair.
Hò, hì, etc.

'N uair chromadh an curraidh a' shuil,
Ri dronnag a' ghunna nach diultadh,
Bhiodh an uilinn 'ga lubadh,
'S b' fharramach sradagan fudair,
Tighinn o sparradh do ludaig,
'Nuair rachadh an teine 'san eireachd nan smuidrich,
Bhiodh eilid na beinne 'sa ceireanan bruite.
Hò, hì, etc.

Gheibhte a' d' thalla 'nam an fheasgair,
Ol is ceol aig na fleasgaich,
Piob mhor nam feudan toll' ga spreigeadh,
'S gach crann dhi le srann co-fhreagradh;
Cha bu ghann dha do dhaimhean beadradh—
Fion a's branndaidh o' d' laimh ga leigeadh.
Hò, hì, etc.

'S ann o Chrasgaig so shuas uainn,
Thig an gaisgeach beachdail uasal;
'S tu thug leat gach beart bu dual dut,
Is a' dh-eachdair a bhi 'n uachdar—
De 'n fhine 's ainmeil 's an Taobh Tuath so,
Ailpeinich nach tais 's a chruadail!
Hò, hì, etc.

XI. Lament.

(By Angus Macdonald, on the Death of his Wife).

Cha teid mi tuilleadh shealg an fheidh,
Cha ruig mi bheinn a dh-eunach',
Theid boc na cèirghil bhuam 'na léum,
Cha dean mi fèum le tialadh;
Air coileach gèig cha chuir mi èis,
'S cha dean mi béud air liath-chirc,
Tha 'n t-sealg gu lèir o' m' luaidhe rèidh—
Chuir bas mo chèile sian oirr'.

Bha mais is cèutaidh 'm bean mo ruin,
Bha sgèimh n'a gnuis le suairceis;
Mo ghaol an t-suil bu bhlaith 's bu chiuin,
Ge duinte nocht 's an uaigh i!
Ged bha mi ciurrta cur na h-uir ort,
Tha e dluth 's gach uair dhomh
Gu bheil thu beò an tir na glòir,
'S tu seinn an òran bhuadh'oir!

Tha thusa nis aig fois 'san uaigh,
'S tha mise truagh gu leòr dheth!
Gach latha 's uair a call mo shnuagh,
A smuaintean ort an còmhnuidh—
Ma dh-fhalbh thu bhuam gu d' dhachaidh bhuan,
Bithidh mise luaidh ri 'm bheò ort,
'S cha tig gu brath ach Righ nan gras
Ni suas a bheàrna dhòmhsa!

Cha n' ioghnadh dhomh ged 'bhithinn ciùrrt'
Gun chaill mi m'iul, 's be 'm beud e—
Ceann bu turail, tuigs' lan curam
Dheanadh cuis a rèiteach';
Cha 'n fhaicte smuirnein 'na do ghnuis ghil
Leis an t-shuil bu ghèire,
Ged bhitheadh do chrannchuir, mar nach b' ainmig,
Tuilleadh 's searbh ri leughadh;

O, Thusa shiabas deur a' bhròin,
Bheir sòlas do luchd iarguinn,
A Lighich mhòir, ni 'n cridhe leòinte
Chuir air dhòigh mar 's miann leat—
Dean mise threòrach mas a deòin leat
Anns an ròd gu t-iarraidh,
'S am faigh mi null thar bharr nan tonn,
Far an deachaidh sonn nan ciad-chath!

O, tuirlinn Thusa, 'Spioraid Naoimh,
A Theachdair chaomh an t-sòlais,
Is taom gu saor a cuan a ghaoil
Tha 'n cridh 'n Fhir-shaoraidh ghlòrmhor,
Na bheir dhomh saorsa bho gach daorsa
A th' ann an t-saoghal a' bhròin so,
'S am faigh mi buaidh, tre fuil an Uain,
Air peacadh, truaighe, 's air dòruinn!

XII. Lament for Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde.

(By Angus Macdonald).

Tha airm an laoich fo mheirg 'san tùr,
Chòmhdaich ùir an curaidh treun,
Bhuail air Alba speach as úr—
A feachd tròm, tùrsach, 'sileadh dheur,
Mu Ghaisgeach Ghaidheil nan sàr bheairt,
Fo ghlais a' bhàis, mar dhùil gan toirt:
Triath na Cluaidh bu buadhaich feairt
Ga chaoidh gu tròm, le cridhe goirt.
Air oidhche 's mi 'm laidhe 'm shuain,
'S mo smuaintean air luath's na dreig—
Uair agam, 's a'n sin uam—
Bhruadair mi 'bhi shuas air creig.
Thoir leam gu 'n robh teachd nam 'choir
Fo bhratach bhròin de shròl dubh
Sar mhaighdean mhaiseach, mhòr;
Tiamhaidh, leont' bha ceòl a guth.
Mar dhrillseadh reult, bha gorm shúil;
A glan ghnuis cho geal 's an sneachd;
Bha falt 'onn air sniomh mu 'cùl,
Tiugh chiabha dluth nan iomadh cleachd.
M'a ceann bha clogaid do dh' fhior chruaidh,
Ri barr bha dualach o'n each ghlas;
A laimh dheas chum sleagh na buaidh;
Claidheamh truailte suas ri 'leis;
Sgiath chopach, obair sheòlt',
Le mòrchuis 'na laimh chlì:
Luireach mhailleach, greist' le h-òr,
Bu chomhdach do nighean righ.
Laidh leoghann garg, gu stuama stòlt'
Mar chaithir dhi-modhair fo reachd;
Chuir leth-ghuth o beul seòlt
A bheisd fo shamchair, 's fo thur smachd.
Ghrad phlosg mo chridhe 'nam chòm,
Fo uamhas is trom gheilt—
Rinn rosg tlàth o 'n ribhinn donn
Fuadachadh lom air m' oilt.
Chrom mi sios le mòr mheas
Is dhiosraich mi do threin na mais',
Cia fath mu 'n robh a h-airm na 'n crios,
Mar shonn 'chum sgrios, a deanamh deas.
Ged 'bha a gnuis mar òigh fo lòn,

No ainnir og 'chuir gaol fo chràdh;
Sheall i rium le plathadh broin,
Measgta le móralachd is gradh.
Lasaich air mo gheilte 's m' fhiamh
'N uair labhair i 'm briathraibh ciùin—
"A Ghaidheil aosda, ghlas do chiabh
Mar cheatharnach a liath le ùin,
Triallaidh tu mar 'rinn do sheors'
Chum talla fuar, reot' a' bhàis;
Eisd guth binn na deagh sgeoil,
'Toirt cuireadh gloir ri latha grais.
Bha agam-sa curaidh treun—
Gun chomalt fo 'n ghréin 'm beairt:
Ceanard armailt na mor euchd
Thug buaidh 's gach streup, le ceill thar neart.
Och mo leireadh, beud a leon
Br atuinn comhladh le trom lot;
O'n Bhan-righ 'chum an duil gun treoir—
Uile comhdaicht' le bron-bhrat.
Chaill m' armailt ceannard corr,
Air namh 's a' chomh-strì toradh grath;
Mar dhealan speur na 'n deigh 's an toir,
Rinn cosgairt leointeach latha 'chath.
Air thus nan Gaidheal, 'stiùireadh streup;
Mar fhireun speur, 'an geuraid beachd;
Gaisg' leoghann garg, 'measg bheathach frith.
Cha d' ghéill 's an t-srith, a dh-aindeoin feachd.
Cha chualas ceannard a thug barr
An teas a bhlàir air sàr nan euchd:
Misneach fhoirfidh, 'an gleachd nan àr—
Trom acain bais, o chradh nan creuchd.
Do Ghaidheil ghaisgeil ceannard corr
Am builsgein comhraig, mor na'm beachd:
A' toirt na buaidh 's a cosnadh gloir,
A dh-aindeoin seol is morachd feachd.
Mar chogadh Oscar flathail garg,
Is Conn 'na fheirg a' dol 's an spairn;
Le Diarmad donn a thuit 's an t-sealg,
'S an Sonn a mharbh an Garbh-mac-Stairn.
Gach buaidh 'bha annta sud gu leir,
An neart, an trein, an gleus, 's am mùirn—
Bha cliù a Chaimbeulaich dha 'n reir,
Dol thart an éifeachd anns gach tuirn—
Ciùin mar ghaighdeann ghràidh 's an t-sith,
Uasal, siobhalt, min 'am beus;

Gaisgeil, gargant, crosg 's an t-sri,
Le cumhachd righ 'cur feachd air ghleus.
Fhuair e urram anns gach ceum,
Thaobh barrachd euchd, 'an streup nan lann.
Rinn d' ar rioghachd dion 'n a feum,
Air thoiseach tréin-fhir Thir nam Beann.
'S na h-Innsean thug e buaidh ro mhor,
Le iuil 's le seoltachd 'dol thar neart:
Threoraich e na brataich shroil,
'S a' chomhraig anns bu gloir-mhor beairt.
C' aite 'n cualas sparradh cath
Bu bhuadhaich sgath na Alma dhearg?
Fuil is cuirp air beinn 's air srath
Na'm millean breith, fo 'n laoch na fhearg!
Fhuair o 'n rioghachd meas is gloir
Anns gach doigh mar thos-fhear cath:
Dhiol ar Ban-righ mar bu choir
Dha onair oirdhearg 'measg nam flath.
Triath Chluaidh nam fuar shruth,
Mu 'n cualas guth an Oisein bhinn,
A' caoidh nan saoidh, 'ruith dheur gu tiugh,
Bha moralach 'an talla Fhinn.
Ghairmeadh air an uisge 'n sonn
Mar agh nan glonn bu bhonndail coir—
Cho fad 's a bhuaileas creag an tonn,
S air uachdar fonn 'bhios fas an fheoir."
Chriochnaich sgeul an ainnir mhoir,
Mu euchdan gloir-mhor an laoich threun;
Mhosgail mi a mo shuain le bron,
A' sileadh dheoir gu'm b' fhior an sgeul!
A Ghaidheil Ghlaschu, shliochd nan sonn
A dh' fhuadaicheadh o Thir nam Beann,
Da'n dual le coir an sruth 's am fonn—
Dhuibhse coisrigeam mo rann,
Dhuibhs' da'n dealaidh am priomh shar,
'S gach euchd 'thug barr 'rinn Gaidheil riamh
Ri stiuireadh feachd an gleachd nam blair
Bhiodh buaidh na laraich sailt' ri 'ghniomh.
Dearbhaidh gur sibh àl nan treun,
Ginealach do reir nan sonn,
A bhuanaich cliu thar sliochd fo 'n ghrein,
'Am blar nam beum 's an streup nan tonn.
Cumaibh cuimhn' air laoch an airm
A ghairmeadh air an abhainn Cluaidh,
'S a' meal e urram 'theid a sheirm
'S gach linn le toirm ri sgeul a bhuaidh!

XIII. A Nighinn Donn a' Bhroillich Bhain:

Oran ùr air seann Fhonn.

(By the late William Mackay, Blairbeg).

A nighinn donn a' bhroillich bhàin,
Chum a' choinneamh rium Di-màirt,
A nighinn donn a' bhroillich bhàin,
Gum a clàn a chì mi thu!

Tha mo chion air do chul donn;
Ged nach leamsa òr no fonn,
B' fheàrr bhi còmhla riut air tom
Na bhi roinn nan dileaban!
A nighinn donn, etc.

Ged bhitheadh maoin agam 'na chruach,
Bhithinn-sa as d' aonais truagh;
Bhithinn aonarach 's tu bhuam
Ged bhitheadh sluagh na tìre leam!
A nighinn donn, etc.

'S deirg' do bhilean na an ròs,
'S mills' na mhil leam do phòg,
'S fallain d' anail na a' chròic—
Mo leòn thu bhi dhìth oirm!
A nighinn donn, etc.

An spéis a thug mi dhut, 's mi òg,
Chum mi fada e fo chleòc,
Is mar géilleadh m' fhuil is m' fheòil,
Ri mo bheò cha 'n ìnnsinn e!
A nighinn donn, etc.

Ged a bha mi reamhar, làn,
'S ged a bha mi daonnan slàn,
Rinn do ghaol mo thoir a bhàn
Gus nach fheàrr na sìthich mi!
A nighinn donn, etc.

Ars' mo chàirdean, 'S tu tha faoin,
A bhi sàraichte le gaol!—
Ach cha thàir dhomh bhi dhe saor
Ge b' e taobh an ìmich mi!
A nighinn donn, etc.

Mo rùn air do mhuineil bàn,
Mo dhùrachd a bhi 'na d' dhàil,
Stiùram dhut mo ghuidh 's mo dhàn—
Gum a slàn a chì mi thu!
A nighinn donn, etc.

XIV. Thoughts on New-Year's Day, 1885.

(By the late William Mackay, at age of 82).

O, beannaich dhomhsa beachd-smuain mo chridh',
Bidh ga mo sheoladh 's cha teid mi cli;
Tha smuaintean trom 'gabhail seilbh 'am chom,
Cuir Fein 'm fonn mi is seinnidh mi!

'S goirt bhi smuaineach air staid an t-sluaigh,
Staid tha millt' agus staid tha truagh,
Staid a' pheacaidh gun tlachd aig Dia innt',
Is bàs tri-fillte dhaibh mar a duais.

Ged chruthaich Dia sinn 'na iomhaigh Fein,
'An eolas ard ann an nithibh Dhe,
'Am fireantachd dhireach, 's an naomhachd fhiorghlan,
Tha 'n t-iomlan millte le 'r n-innleachd fein!

Ach 's maith an sgeula tha dhuinn air teachd—
Sgeul eibhinn tha innt' gu beachd—
Bithidh gloir aig Dia dhi, oir glanaidh fuil Chriosd sinn
Bho 'r peacaidh' lionmhor, cho gheal ri sneachd.

An Cumhnant Grais sin gu brath nach bris
'N ar rùm 's 'nar aite cho-lionadh leis;
Na fiachan phaidh E, 's an Lagh do dh' ardaich,
'Us bithidh iad tearuint', na dhearbas Ris.

Gin annainn miann gum biodh againn coir
'S a' Chumhnant Shiorruidh tha chum do ghloir;
Gum b' e ar n-iartas còir ann a fhireantachd,
Is sith fo dhion fuil na h-iobairt mhoir.

Oir tha ar bliadhnaibh, tha tearc is gearr,
A dol 'nan dian-ruith gun stad gun tamh;
Tha chraobh a liathadh, gun sugh 'na friamh'chean,
Gu dluth a crionadh bho 'bun gu 'barr.

Do chumhachd Fein cuir a nios a nis
A dhearbhadh dhuinn nach e so ar fois;
Is anns an Righeachd nach gabh a gluasad
Gum b'e ar suaimhneas bhi maille Ris.

Oir air an t-siorruidheachd cha tig ceann—
Mar shruth a sior ruith dol sios an gleann;
Is cha 'n fhaic miosan no milltean bhliadhnaibh
Gu brath a crioch, oir cha bhi i ann.

Ach tha ar laithean 'na d' lamhan Fein:
Mu 'n glac am Bàs sinn dean sinn riut reidh,
Is ni sin gairdeachas ann do shlainte,
'S ni sinn gu brath cliu do ghrais a sheinn!

XV. Oran air Gleannagarradh.

(By Hugh Fraser).

An Gleannagarradh tha mi thàmh,
Ag obair dhoibh air figh' an t-snàith;
Aite briagh' le beanntaibh àrd,
Is daimh na cròice 's aighean ann.

Sud an gleann a tha ro bhriagh',
Abhainn Gharraidh troimh 'mheadhoin sios,
Far am beil gach seorsa iasg,
Cho lionmhor ris na cuileagan.

Na 'n gabhadh tu am bàt 's an lion
Gheibheadh tu an adag riabhach;
Am bradan tarragheal 's easgainn liath,
'S na ciadan dhe na gealagan.

Sud an gleann tha bòidheach briagh';
Fàsaidh ann gach lus is fiar;
A' bhuidheag bhuidhe, 's i ni 'n cia
'N deigh seachd bliadhn' a ghlasaiche.

Beanntaibh mullaich an fhéur uaine,
Uisge fior-ghlan 'g éiridh suas annt:
'S far am bi na féidh 's na ruadh-bhuic,
Luaineach agus mioragach.

Sud an gleann tha tlachdmor àluinn,
Cha 'n eil craobh nach eil a' fàs ann;
Giubhas, caltainn, agus feàrna,
'N àirde cùl nan taighean ann.

Beithe, seileach, cuilionn uain',
Bealaidh-Fhrangach 's darach cruaidh;
Caorann dearg a' fàs 's gach bruaich,
Is sguab 's na h-uile luisean dheth.

Ròs bho Sharan, lili nan gleann,
Séudar Labanoin 's eitheann chrann;
Co chunnacas leithid sud a' ghleann?
An taobh's do'n Fhraing cha 'n aithne dhomh.

APPENDIX P (Page 449).

BARON COURT RECORDS.

I. Protection of Woods. [Original at Castle Grant].

Ye Court haldin ye 19 day of July, 1623.

Cutteris of grey woudis in Wrqrt [Urquhart].

That day It was statutit and ordinit yt na persone nor personis wtin the boundis of Wrqrt & Corimonie fires, cutt, peill, distroy, sell, dispon, ony of the woudis of ye saidis boundis, wtout leif or altollerance haid & obtenit of ye Lard or his bailzie wnder ye pean of XL lib. [£40, Scots] *toties quoties*.

Wm. McAlister is decernit & ordinit to attend & keipt ye haill woudis and haidgis wtin his boundis of Lochletter, & be answerable for ye samyne, in tyme cuming in maner & wnder ye peanis above writtin, & yt he sall mak na garthis wtin ye saidis boundis, he him selff nor na vtheris dualling wtin his boundis, wndir ye peanis forsaidis, nor dispone, bot sik as sal be approvit for ye countrie pepill or ye bailzie in his name.

James Cuming [Dulshangie] actit in maner forsaid for all ye woudis & haidgis wtin his boundis efter ye forme of ye act aboue-writtin in all pointis.

James Grant actit in maner forsaid for all ye woudis & haidgis wtin his boundis, efter ye tennor of ye act aboue-written in all pointis.

Rot. Cuming actit in maner forsaid for all ye woudis & haidgis growand vpone ye boundis & landis of Pithurrell [Pitkerrald].

Jon. McAlister & Wm. McKintaggart actit in maner forsaid for all ye woudis & haidgis growand vpone ye boundis & landis of Mid Inshbrein.

Rot. Grant actit for ye woudis of Schouglie and Meaklie in maner forsaid.

Patk. McEan and Gregor McAlister duy actit as saidis for ye woud of Learnenye (Lenie?) & Kyl St Ninian.

Dond. McEan dow, Findlay Caine McEan dow, tenentis in Bealloid [Bunloit] actit in maner forsaid.

Jon. Keir McConkchie and Duncan McRobert actit in maner forsaid for the waster [wester] woudis of Bealloid, & ye widow for her awin pairt.

Jon. McEachen actit in maner forsaid for the woudis of Waster Inshvrein.

II. Recovery of Debt. [Original at Castle Grant].

The Court of the richt honoll. James Grant of Freuquhie, holdin be himselff and James Grant, Ouchterblaire, his bailzie, at the Castell and Maner Place of Wrquhart, ye penult day of Februar 1648 yeires: the suits callit, ye Court lawfullie fencit & affirmit as use is,

Mr Duncan Makculloche, Minister of Wrquhart, desyrid yat my stipend, crop 1647 yeires, and yeirlie in tyme coming, extending yeirlie to ye sowme of ten markis in everie pleuche of ye Lordschip of Wrquhart, and *in toto* yeirlie to ye sowme of may be decernit to be payit to me for this crop 1647 within terme of law, and for payment of ye same my stipend at the rate forsaid everie pleuche yeirlie in tyme [coming] in everie crop according to ye ordor and termes of pay vsit and wount; and yat decreit be pronuncit yranent for poynding, and that ye Bailzie concur and assist ye officare in poynding for my payment yis yeir for crop 1647, and yeirlie for lyk in tyme coming, according to iustice.

Penultimmo July [*sic;* but probably error for February] 1648. Decernit Judiciallie.[1]

III. Prosecutions for Cutting Wood and Sward, and Slaying Deer, Roe, Blackcock, and Moorfowl.

Decreit off Barron Court contra the Tennents off the Barronie off Comar ffor grein wood, sward, deare, Rea, &c, holdin be Corrimonie, bailzie deput, 14 & 16 ffebrii 1691. [Original at Erchless Castle].

Ane Barrone Court off the Barronie off Comar, Holdin at Comar the Thirteint day of ffebrii 1691 yeires Be John Grant off Corrmonie, Bailzie deput off the said Barronie conforme to ane Comissione off Bailliarie granted be Sir Alexr M'Kenzie off Coul and Sir Rodorick M'Kenzie off ffindone, as haveing right

[1] At this period the minister's stipend was paid by the tenants, and not by the proprietors, as now.

be apprysinges and vyr [other] legall tytels standing in their persones agst the sd esteat and Barronie off Comar with the haill tytells and jurisdictiones yrof, To John Chisholme eldest lawll sone to the deceast Alexr Chisholme off Comar, and his deputs, ane or mae, ffor whom he should be answerable, and be which Commissione the said Baillie and his deputes are authorized be the saides Sir Alexr and Sir Rodorick M'Kenzies to seit and conveine befoire them, all and sundrie the haill tennentes and oyres [others] within the said Barronie, and to ffyne and amerciat ym according to Law, as the said Commissione, off the dait the ffourt and ffyft dayes off Jennuary 1689 yeires beares, And the said John Chisholme conforme to the said Commissione, haveing nominat the said John Grant to be his deput who accepted yroff, and the samyn tennentes being all summond to this day and place, be the officer off the said Barronie, he made choice off me George Grahame notar publict under subscribing to be his clerk, and Christopher McKra in Comar to be his ffyscall conforme to the said Comissione who gave yr oath *de ffideli administratione*, And efter Reiding of the said Comissione, calling off the suites and ffencing of the Court in the usuall maner, and calling off the haill tennentes of the said Barronie sua sumond be the officer to the said dyet, and the claime givin in be the saide pror ffiscal agst them ffor the reasones and causes efter rehearst, did pronunce and give ffurth his sentence against the saides tennentes in maner under written, viz.:—

The said day Donald Mcewin Mconill vick onill vick neill in Glencannich Being complained upon be the ffiscal ffor cutteing off grein wood, grein suard, killing of deare and rea, blackcock and moorefoules, who being solemnly sworne interrogat deponed yt he neither killed deare or rea, blackcock or moorefoules: But confest to be guilty of cutteing off grein wood, and grein suard, and theirfoire the bailzie deput amerciate the said Donald in ffyve pound scottes money, to be payed to the ffyscall within tearme off Law.

Collin Mcomas oige in Wester Knockfin, Alex. Mcrorie their, Donald McWilliam duy their, John Roy McWilliam vick neill yr, Rorie McEan vick rorie yr, John Roy McGillespick yr, Alexr Mcfinley Buy yr, Thomas Mconill vick indire yr, Donald Macean vick alister Rioch yr, John Mcalister Rioch their, Andro mc rorie theire, and Donald McEan vickqueine yr, Being also complained upon be the ffiscall ffor cutteing off grein wood, peiling off tries, grein suard, killing off deare and Rea, blackcock and moorefoules, and being all solemnly sworne, deponed as followes, viz.:—The said Collein Mcomas confest the killing off deare, rea, blackcock, moore-

foules, [cutting of] grein wood and grein suard, and peiling off Bark, and ffyned yrfoire be the baillie deput in Twentie pund scottes. The said Alexr Mcrorie also solemnly sworne confest Lykwayes *cum præcedente*, Collin Mcomas *in omnibus*, and yrfoire ffyned in the alyke soume off Tuentie pundes: The said Donald McWilliam being solemnly sworne confest the cutteing off grein wood grein suard and peiling off bark, and denyed the killing off deare and rea, blackcock and moore-foules, and theirfoire the bailzie deput ffyned him in ten pundes money fforsaid.

* * * * * * *

IV. Regulations for Suppression of Cattle-Lifting.

Actes off Barron Court off the Barony of Comar, holdin be John Grant of Corrimonie, 16 ffeby. 1691. [Original at Erchless Castle].

The whilk day it is inacted, statut, and ordained be the said Baillie deput, That in caise ony theives or robbers pass thorrow the said Barronie with ony stollin goodes [cattle], or be recepted or harboured be ony off the tennents within the samyn, or make ony incursiones or depredationes within the said Barronie, or uyr wayes recept any off the goodes sua stollin, or be in accessorie to, or correspond with, the saides theives, or gae allongst with ym, yt the rest of the inhabitantes off the said Barronie imediatly yrefter and without delay make intima'o'n yroff to the said John Chisholme, principall bailzie, or to his officer, to the end the countrey may be freed of such illegall and base acts ffor the ffuture; and in cais they ffaill to make tymeous intima'o'n as said is, and yrefter the crymes above mentioned be instructed and made out agst any off the inhabitants within the said Barronie, they are instantly to content and pay tuentie punds *toties quoties*, and also uyr wayes to be punished according to the Lawes and Actes of Parliat. made yranent, Provydeing allwayes the saides tennentes or ayr [either] of them be knowin to the saides crymes, or the samyn instructed agst ym, and no oyr wayes: And fforder it is inacted, statut, and ordained that in cais any theives, wagabondes, robbers, or oyr louse men come to the said Barronie to make any incursiones or depredationes yrin, that the haill tennentes and inhabitantes yrin be instantly reddie with yr best armes, and all the assistance oyr wayes they can have, to defend agst such persones, under the penaltie off Tuentie pundes *toties quoties*, without any defal-catione: And sicklyke, It is lykewayes statute and ordained that in cais yr be any goodes stollin ffrom any persone or persones within the said Barronie, That imediately yrefter,

and upon ane call, the whole next adjacent neightboures off the persone or persones so injured instantly goe with him in search and track off the samyn goodes, under the penaltie off Ten pundes, to be paid to them *toties quoties* as the samyn occures, and they refuse to goe, and the Officer off the Barronie heirby impowered to poynd the contraveiners ffor the saides penalties, and make the same ffortheomeing to the bailzie efter poynding yrof.

(Signed) Jo. Grant.

V. Deforcement, and Drunkenness.

Baron Court of Comar, 26 May, 1692. [Original at Erchless Castle].

The whilk day anent the complaint given in be the said Christopher McKra, ffiscall, agst John McWilliam Vick Neill in Wester Knockfin, for and anent the deforceing off Kenneth Mcinteire, Officer, being poinding some sheepe ffrom the said John McWilliam Vick Neill for payment off his dewtie [rent] to his maister [proprietor] and the said John haveing masterfully deforced the said officer by keeping back the said sheepe sua to be poyndit, Therfoire the bailzie has fyned and amerciat the said John in the soume of Ten pundes Scottes money ffor the said deforcement, and ordaines him to make payment yrof to the said ffiscall within tearmes of law.

The said day anent the grievance given in agst hugh Mc hutcheone Vickonill in Glencanich for and anent his exorbitant drinking off aqua vytie, and yrby dilapidateing his means by his intemperance, qrby he is rendered unable to pay his dewty [rent] to his maister [proprietor]; the bailzie haveing considered the said grievance, heirby statutes and ordaines that what ever aqua vytie merchands shall sell or give above ane halff mutchkin aqua vytie to the said Hugh, the said aqua vytie shall be confiscat, and iff the said Hugh force ony more yn qt alowed from ym he shall be ffyned in ten pund Scottes *toties quoties* as he transgresses.

VI. Regulation of Prices and Wages.

A. Baron Court of Comar, 25th Feby. 1693. [Original at Erchless Castle].

The said day anent the greivance and complaint given in be the haill inhabitantes off the said Barronie ffor and anent the great extortione and exorbitant pryces exacted and takin be shoemakers and weavers ffrom the saides Tennentes and inhabitantes ffor shoes and weaveing off cloth, The said Baillie

did enact statut and ordaine yt after the day and dait hereoff, when the shoemaker buyes the rough hyde ffor ffoure merkes, yt then and in yt caise he sell the mens shoes for eight shilling and the womens shoes for sex shilling per pair; and when the rough hyde is bought at ffour pundes, each pair off mens shoes to be sold at ten shillings, and each pair womens shoes at eight shilling, and when the rough hyde is sold at ffyve merkes, that the mens shoes be sold at nyne shilling and the womens shoes at seven shilling, and ordaines thir pntes [presents] to be intimat to the wholl shoemakers within the Barronie, with certificatione, iff they transgress, they shall be ffyned and amerciat yrfore at the discretione of the Baillie.

[No rule regarding the weavers.]

B. Baron Court of Comar, 22nd December, 1696. [Original at Erchless Castle].

It was lykewayes enacted statut and ordained that no weaver within the said baron have or get for weaving off ilk elne courtaines, caddes, gray cloth, or lining, but twelves poundes scottes for ilk elnes weaving and eightein poundes for ilk elne tartan or heyved playdes, with certificatione to the contraiveiners they shall be ffyned in ffyve pundes toties quoties, and the saides weavers, iff provin to exact more yn qt above enacted and allowed, in ten poundes, and yt to be payed be the saides contraveiners withot any modificatione.

C. Baron Court of Urquhart, 31st July, 1736. [Original in possession of the Author].

Court Pitkeraldmore,
Urquhart, July the last, 1736.

In regard that a universal hardship is imposed on the Gentlemen and Tenants of this countrie by the hired men and servants, both man and woman, and this is represented to the Judge: the same is to be enacted in the manner following:— That any Servant who can properly provide his master in all the materials necessary for a labouring man, is to have ten marks of wages once in the half year, and two pairs of shoes; the next best to have eight marks and two pairs of shoes, and the rest to have wages according as they are thought deserving. And as to the Women servants, such as are not otherwise bred than within the Countrie, and are not capable not to serve a Gentleman's house exactly, are onlie to have three marks and two pairs of shoes and ane aprone in the half year. And also if anie servant living in the countrie who can gett service at Whitsunday, and suspends his engagement until the shearing time, then, and in that case, they are to receive onlie half

Fees—as also if anie servant naturalized in the countrie who is getting service within it desert the countrie without the special consent of the Baillie, and the testification of the minister and Elders, the said girls are never to return to the countrie so as to have habitual residence within it. Also any man being within the countrie who works for days wages is onlie to have one-third of a peck of meal and his dinner for every days work betwixt the 1st of November and the 1st of March, and all the rest of the year over to have one half peck and his danner onlie. As also all the Mealanders[1] within the countrie to be required to give two days a week to his master for his danner and super, and also to give him the time preferable to any if required—and all the above rates to be observed forthwith, both by masters and servants, under the penalty of ten Pounds Scots by the master, and fyfe Pounds Scots by the Servant, upon all which the Judge promises to give the sentence upon all persons complained upon, and if the complaint is instructed, fyfe Pounds Scots money to be given to the informer. And in the case of the Masters being complained upon by their servants, who make not payment within half a year after the fee is gained, he is to be decerned against, and in favour of the servant, who is to get double of his claim, and that no servant is forced without asking the question at his present master under the within-written penalty.

Court Pitkeraldmore, July the last, 1736.

JOHN GRANT, Baillie.

Considering that customary Swearing and Cursing is offensive to God, and scandalous among men, Especially before any sitting in judgement, Wherefore did and hereby does enact that any person or persons guilty of the said Sins from the time the Judge enters the Court House, untill he leaves the same, shall pay one shilling Sterg. *toties quoties*, and his person apprehended, and keeped in custody untill he pay the same. J. GRANT.

VII. TRIAL FOR THEFT, AND SENTENCE OF DEATH.

Baron Court of Comar, 18th Jany. 1699. [Original at Erchless Castle].

Donald Mc alister vickoill duj, now prisoner in Wester Inverchanich, yee are Indyted and accused at the instance off James ffraser in Mayne, ane sone to Hugh ffraser off Bellindoune, and at the instance of John McConchie in Meikle Comar, and Christopher McKra, pror. ffiscall off Court, That

[1] Mailers. See p. 442 *supra*.

qr be the Lawes and Actes off Parliat. off this Kingdome the crymes of thift, recept off thift, corresponding with theives, are crymes in themselves punisheable by death and confiscatione off moveables, yet True it is and off verity That you, the said Donald Mc alister vickoilduj, are guilty off the saides crymes, In sua ffar as upon the Twenty Tua day off December last by past [1698] you did repaire to the ground off the Landes off Mayne and yr did most surreptitiously steal the number of tua sheepe, haveing brokin up the cott qr the said sheepe was, the fflesh off which tua sheepe, at leist a good part yrof, was ffound in your possessione as a ffange: Secundo, Yee are Indyted and accused ffor your thiftuous stealling off ane Reid prick horned bull, belonging to Alexr. Chisholme, lait Shireff deput off Invernes, and now in Killmuire Wester, and which was sent be the said Alexr. Chisholme to the said John Mc Conchie to be grazed in the wood off Comar, and most surreptitiously stollin be you ffurth off the said Wood off Comar in the year 1689, and pairt off the fflesh off the said Bull and hyde off the samyn ffound with you as ane ffange: Tertio, Yee are lykewayes Indyted and acused ffor your thiftuous stealling off ane sheepe ffrom fferqr. mc ean vick ferqr. in Wester Knockfin, in the moneth off August last, and the fflesh yroff ffound with you also as a ffange, and yee accordingly lug marked yrfoire: Quarto, Yee are fforder acused ffor breakine up ane chist belonging to Marie Roy, your moyr. in law, in the year 1689, and takeing ffurth yroff ane certaine quantity off yairne, and oyr comodity: Quinto, Yee are fforder accused ffor your thiftuous stealling and away takin ffrom Christane Neine Thomas vick William, in Wester Inverchanich, off ane chist, qr.in was yairne, pleadin, and oyr comodity, and the said chist ffound in your possessione yrefter as a ffang, you haveing made your owin use off the goodes yrin: Sixth, Yee are lykewayes accused ffor your surreptitious stealling of keall [kail] ffrom William mc ean duj, laitly in Kirktowne off Comar, and ffound with you as a ffange: And Lastly, yee are accused and indyted as ane notorious theiff, and under opin bruite and comone ffame as such: And the premises being ffound to be off verity and provin be the verdict off ane assize, yee are to incurr the paynes off death ffor said yrfoire to the Terror off oyres [others] to comitt the lyke in Tyme comeing.

Ane Barrone Court holdin be John Grant off Corriemonie, baillzie to John Chisholme off Comar, the Eighteent day off January 1699 yeires, The Court being ffenced in the usual manner, the pannell being brought to the barr, and the above written Indytement Red to him in presence of the Assyze

underwritten, and the Witnesses aduced ffor proving yroff, did proceed as ffollowes, and yrefter the haill persones off Inquest being present, and haveing heird the pannell his owin confessione, by himselff, and uyr wayes provin by the witnesses, the bailzie did Remit the samyn to the verdict off the members off assyze following viz. :

Robert Grant in Erchles	Alexr. Mc Kra in Kerrow
Hector Fraser in Mauld	John Chisholme off Knockfin
James Mc Ean ok in Inverchanich	Donald Mc ean vick queine yr.
John Mac alister Rioch yr.	Alexr. Mcdonald off Muckerach
Archibald Chisholme yr.	Alexr. Mcdonald yr. yroff.

Ferqr. Mc oill vick ferqr. in Carrie
William Chisholme yr.
Alexr. Mc hutcheone in Clyteroy
Donald Mc ewin in Shallwanach
Robert Grant in Buntaite.

The heall persones of inquest having enclosed themselves, and having put to the vote who should be Chancellor of the said Asize, they and each of them did make choise of Alexander Macdonald off Muckerach to be ther Chancellor, who thereafter caused Angus Macdonald, younger off Muckerach ther Clerk read in the first place the pannells owin Confessiones, and in the nixt place the depositiones of the witnesses laid agst him for prowing of the remanent articles of the inditment not confessed by the pannel, and thereafter the said Chancellor having put the matter to the vote and verdick of the asize, and having God and a Good Conscience before ther eyes, and after mature deliberatione they find the pannell guiltie of the first article of the inditment relating to the two sheep stolln be him from Mayne; they find likewise the second article of the indytment anent the red prick horned bull also prown agst the said pannell by the depositiones of the witnesses without objectione led agst him; they find likewise the third article prowen agst the pannell anent the stealling off the sheep from fferqr. mc ean vic Erqr., att least his being art and part therein in knowing of the same to have been stolln, and eating of the flesh thereof; they find lykwise the article of the indytment annent the Keall also prown by the depositiones of the witnesses, as also the pannell guiltie of thift as to the two hesps of yarn because of his hyding of the same under the thack and desyreing to conceall it: wee find lykwise the pannell by the comon report and brute of the whole Countrey to be a Notorious theef, and remitts to the Baillie to pronounce sentence in the matter: in testimonie qrof our said

Chancellor and our Clerk of the said asise have subscribed thir presents this eighteenth day of Januarie 1699 yeires.

ALEXR. McDONALD, Chancellor.
ÆNE. McDONALD, Clerk.

The Bailly haveing Re-entered in Court, and the verdict off the said assyze being Returned, and under the signe and subscriptione off yr said Chancellor and Clerk, and haveing considered that they have ffound the within written articles off the Indytement prowin, the said Bailly decernes and ordaines the persone of the said Donald Mc alister vick oill duy to be brought furth off the prisone qrin he now lyes in Inverchanich, to the Muire of Comar, ffryday nixt the twenty day off January instant twixt the houres off ane and two in the efternoone yt day, and yr to be hanged on ane gallows set up on the said muire, be the hand off the hangman, to death, and yrefter to be cutt doune and his corpes to be carried away and buried at the back syde off the Kirk yaird off Comar Kirktoune; and ordaines his haill moveables to be escheat to his Majesties use; and this the said Bailly pronounces ffor doome.

JO. GRANT.

APPENDIX Q (PAGE 452).

I. ABSTRACT ACCOMPT OF THE BUSSINESS DONE AT THE MANUFACTUREING STATION OF GLENMORISTON AND NEIGHBOURHOOD BY ME, ALEXANDER SHAW, UNDERTAKER FOR SAID STATION, THE YEAR 1764.

	Flax Bought	Yarn Spun and Bought.		Lint and Tow Spun or Sold.	Yarn So .		Lintseed Distribute	Wheels and Reels Distribute.	
	Libs.	Spg.	H.	Libs.	Spg.	H.	Hhds.	Wheels.	Reels
1764 January...	3700	211	—	749	310	—	—	—	—
February.	—	302	2	464		—	—	—	—
March	1000	392	1	579	800	—	—	—	—
Aprile.....	—	591	3	564	—	—	14	5	2
May	1000	604	—	660	—	—	—	4	3
June.....	1200	362	2	634	600	—	—	6	2
Jully. ...	—	415	1	505	600	—	—	2	2
August....	2000	308	—	389	800	—	—	4	1
September	—	129	2	311	93	2	—	2	3
October...	—	136	1	453	—	—	—	1	—
November	—	193	3	589	449	—	—	4	2
December	—	315	2	407	225	—	—	2	2
Total...	8900	3962	1	6304	3882	2	14	30	17

Att Glenmoriston, the tenth day of January, One thousand seven hundred and sixty five years, In presence of Angus Mackintosh, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the Shire of Inverness, Compeared the above Alexander Shaw and made Oath to the truth of the above Abstract.

ALEXR. SHAW.
ANGUS McINTOSH, J.P.

II. Accompt of the Distribution of Wheels and Reels ordered by the Honourable Commissioners of Annexed Estates to the Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of the Manufacturing Station of Glenmoriston the year 1764.

Date.	Persons' Names.	Place of Residence.	Parish.	Number Distributed. Wheels.	Reels.
April 4	Janet Cummin	Drumdrochit..	Urquhart	—	1
9	Kathrine Cameron.	Achteraw	Boleskin	—	1
10	Peter Gordon's wife	Borlummore...	Urquhart	1	—
17	Mary Mackdonell	Glengary	Killmeuwick	1	—
	Margaret Macdonell	Blairy	Urquhart	1	—
24	Ann Mackdonell	Bonloit	. . . .	1	—
28	John Cameron's wife	Borlummore...	. . . .	1	—
May 10	Elspet Cummin	Invermoriston	. . . .	1	1
	Philip Mackdonell's wife	Meechullie	. . . .	—	1
18	Mary Mackiver	Fort Augustus	Boliskin.	—	1
21	Donald Fraser's wife.	Miltoun	Urquhart	1	—
23	Janet Mackdonell	Fort Augustus	Boliskin	1	—
29	Duncan Grant's wife	Ballindrom	Urquhart	1	—
June 1	John Maclean's wife	Gartalie	. . . .	—	1
4	Mary Fraser	Borlum	Dores	—	1
	John Grant's wife.	Dores	. . . .	1	—
9	Janet Munro	Meeckulie	Urquhart	1	—
14	Mary Fraser	Gartalie	. . . .	1	—
18	Margaret Call	Invermoriston	. . . .	1	—
22	Ann Stuart	Moniack	Kirkhill	1	—
26	Mary Mackrae	Shouglie	Urquhart	1	—
July 4	Elspet Maclachlan	Obriachan	. . . .	—	1
16	Elizabeth Mackrae	Pitkerrald	. . . .	1	1
23	John Mackdonell's wife	Achnagunerin	. . . .	1	—
August 3	John Fraser's wife	Dillcatick	Boliskin	1	—
8	Elspet Mackdonell	Glenmoriston.	Urquhart	1	—
10	Mary Cameron	Livishie	. . . .	1	—
13	Donald Mackdonell's wife..	Ballindrom.	. . . .	—	1
17	Janet Mackdonell	Achnagunerin	. . . .	1	—
September 5	Mary Chisholm	Inverhanick	Killtarlatie	1	—
11	Janet Macgrigor	Corrumony.	Urquhart	1	—
14	Christian Bowie	Fanblair	Kiltarlity	—	1
	Ann Mackenzie	Craskie	Urquhart	—	1
25	Thomas Mackbain's wife	Fanblair	Kiltarlity	—	1
October 19	Dougal Mackdougall's wife	Bonloit	Urquhart	1	—
November 2	Patrick Grant's wife	Borlumbegg	. . . .	1	1
7	Duncan Mackdonell's wife.	Connichin	. . . .	1	—
13	Kathrine Fraser	Inchnicardich	Boliskin	1	—
16	Ann Chisholm	Strath Glass	Kiltarlity	—	1
21	Alexander Grant's wife	Tomacraskie	Urquhart	1	—
December 3	Janet Fraser	Obriachin	. . . .	—	1
6	Kathrine Mackdonell.	Port Clair	Boliskin	1	—
10	Evan Mackdonell	Duldriggin	Urquhart	1	—
12	Ann Stewart	Moniack	Kirkhill	—	1
	Total			30	17

Att Glenmoriston, the tenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five years, In presence of Angus Mackintosh, Esquire, one of His Majesties Justices of Peace for the Shire of Inverness, Compeared Alexander Shaw, manufacturer at Glenmoriston, and made Oath to the truth of the above Accompt.

ALEXR. SHAW.
ANGUS McINTOSH, J.P.

APPENDIX R (Page 457).

Extracts from the Drumnadrochit Inn Visitors' Book in Possession of Mrs Wells, late Landlady of the Inn.

In Highland glens, 'tis far too oft observed
That man is chased away, and game preserved;
Glen-Urquhart is to me a lovelier glen—
Here deer and grouse have not supplanted men.

John Bright (June 21, 1856).

The above lines by Mr Bright called forth the following:—

From Highland glens, for deer and grouse preserves,
Let Bright be chased away as he deserves;
He loves not them, but only cares for salmon,
Seizes each chance of claptrap and of gammon.

W.

We know, Mr Bright,
Your philosophy, quite,
And what nonsense you talk in support of it;
But we scarcely suppose,
Such trash you'd compose,
If for one lucid moment you'd thought of it.

We'll kindly excuse
This escape of your muse,
Since we know your erratic proclivities;
Here mules and shoddy
Give place to toddy,
And you're right to enjoy the festivities.

A. K. F.

Nor *thousands* here a wretched life-course run
To buy a splendix luxury for *one;*
Mid stifling walls and sweltering alleys thrust,
In Belial's atmosphere of devil's dust,
Doomed by the heartless priests of Mammon grim,
To toil and pale and pine and die for *him*.
Glen-Urquhart is to me a glorious glen—
Here mules and shoddy have not stunted men.

L. Blair.

He praised Glen-Urquhart—If his praise be just,
Why seek to dim it with malicious dust?
How hurts it you that clanking mules afford
To thousands work? Do you, by Progress bored,
Dispense with shirts, because too cheaply made?
Or fail to eat bread cheapened by Free Trade?

J. R. S.

Oh, Drumnadrochit, village dear!
I'll not forget thy kindly cheer;
While comfort upon comfort piled,
Changes me to a mountain child.

It may be long, it may be ne'er
My footsteps shall again repair
To this romantic, lovely scene—
Yet memory whispers, "There you've been!"

How shall I in this simple page
Unfold what thoughts the mind engage?
Or how in words befitting tell
The beauties of this charming dell?

Cease, then! and yet I fain would say
To all who hitherward can stray—
If peace and plenty you would win,
Oh! come to Drumnadrochit Inn!

G. R. (1856).

Stop, Traveller! with weel pack'd bag,
And hasten to unlock it;
You'll ne'er regret it, tho' you lag
A day at Drumnadrochit.

Stop, Angler! with your rod and creel,
If you wi' trout would stock it;
I have nae doubt ye shall do weel
To stay at Drumnadrochit.

Stop, Artist! with your sketching-book,
For gin ye can but tak' it,
At Urquhart Castle ye should look,
'Tis close to Drumnadrochit.

Stop every one who would combine
Care both of health and pocket,
You'll find short bills and breezes fine
Prevail at Drumnadrochit.

Rev. W. Drake (14th July, 1857).

Two hours we spent in Edinboro'
To see what could be seen;
And (seeing *people*, not the town),
Two days in Aberdeen.

Six we allotted to Braemar,
And left for lack of "fare";
(The inns were full and flowing o'er
So we staid no longer there).

Seven happy days have glided by
Here in this lovely glen;
And if it were but further south
We should often come again.

But, alas! we fear it is too far
From dingy Lincoln's Inn,
To make it just the place to spend
The "Long Vacation" in.

Mr and Mrs F. Seebolm (26th August, 1857).

Ye maun prate o' the waters at Baden or Spa,
'Tis Drumnadrochit takes the shine out of a';
Of our claim to sich honour, judge everybody—
Their springs gie but water, our "Wells"[1] gie ye toddy!

(1861).

Ye tourists all, erratic race,
Who shoot about like Congrieve rocket,
Your ardour calm, abate your pace,
And pass a week at Drumnadrochit.

Geologists, who cannot see
A stone without a wish to knock it,
Just think how happy you will be
Amidst these rocks of Drumnadrochit.

[1] Mrs Wells, the hostess.

Ye men of law, awake so wide,
  Who pore all day o'er brief and docket,
Just cast your wigs awhile aside,
  And keep a term at Drumnadrochit.

And doctors after fees who dance,
  And oft a Christian's life will dock it,
Do give your patients one fair chance
  By leaving them for Drumnadrochit.

Dyspeptic folk who cannot sleep,
  Unless your couch some potion rock it,
At this calm scene just take a peep,
  And try a nap at Drumnadrochit.

Economists, whose only care
  Is that bestowed upon your pocket,
From weekly bills awhile forbear,
  And try the cost of Drumnadrochit.

Low in spirits, low in pocket,
Come at once to Drumnadrochit!
Sick of snobs, and tired of swells,
Sojourn at these pleasant "Wells";
Better door you cannot knock at,
Than the inn of Drumnadrochit.

Cheerful rooms and restful beds;
Pillows soft for heavy heads;
Warmest welcome meets you there;
Best of drink and best of fare;
Leafy shades and winding walks;
Benches set for friendly talks;
Bowers where you may smoke at ease;
Garden humming round with bees;
Mignonette and purple rocket
Scent the air of Drumnadrochit.

The egg is fresh, no need to clock it,
That you get at Drumnadrochit.
Your valise? you need not lock it
When you stay at Drumnadrochit.
No one wonders what o'clock it
Ever is at Drumnadrochit.
Squeamishness has nought to shock it
At the Inn of Drumnadrochit—
Pleasant place! May no one mock it!

But my song is getting long,
And I think I'd better dock it;
So farewell to thee, fair Wells,
And farewell to Drumnadrochit!

F. F. (Sept. 1867).

At the end of a more than usually poor attempt to find words to rhyme with "Drumnadrochit" has been written the following:—

Your verses, my friend,
You should study to mend,
And should be averse to exhibit 'em;
But the *Islay* was strong
On the night of your song,
And flowed down your gullet *ad libitem!*

A. K. F. (1865).

Drumnadrochit, 18th September, 1871.

Snug hostelry, whose rugged name
So oft has stirred the bard's ambition,
I find thy welcome still the same,
Thy bed and board in good condition.

How sweet on genial summer day,
Or e'en in autumn's sultrier weather,
To reach the dear romantic bay
With sunlit castle, wood, and heather.

But what if fate should drive us here
When winter winds lash Ness to madness,
When hardy pines look gaunt and sear,
And stormy clouds clothe hills with sadness!

Ah, let us not the thought pursue,
From gentler thoughts the heart beguiling;
Would that our friends were all as true,
And we knew where to find them smiling!

John Sibbald.

From Anderson's "Guide to the Highlands."—At the mouth of Glen-Urquhart there is a large and excellent inn, Drumnadrochit, long an established favourite with the public, and now still better known to fame by a letter from Shirley Brooks to *Punch*."

"The 'letter' was written five years ago. Revisiting the excellent inn, I can only add, after a week's sojourn, that Mrs Wells is the best of hostesses. Visitors will speedily find this out for themselves, but I wish to do a service to such of them as may not be aware that from Drumnadrochit they can easily (in one day) make an excursion to a glen of the most exquisite beauty, *Glen Affaric*, and that on the road (a very good one) they will see every variety of Highland scenery, rich and wooded, wild and bleak, and a grim, fierce cataract, the 'Dog Falls,' worth coming any distance to see. Two days *may* be made of it by stopping at an inn on the way, but this is needless—take a basket, furnished here, and dine on the side of the lake in the glen. I *hope* that no reader of these lines indulges in the *idle*, UNWHOLESOME, and DEMORALISING habit called smoking, but should one be so misguided, I fear that he will think a cigar by the side of that lake the most delicious *weed* (properly so called, my brethren) which he ever smoked. 'I drink his health in a dram,' and wish him, if not reform, good fusees. V.S.

"October 3, 1865. SHIRLEY BROOKS,

"who on the above day went to Glen Affaric with John Phillip, R.A., Mr Cassie of Aberdeen, artist, and

"EMILY BROOKS."

APPENDIX S (PAGE 463).

THE POOR, AND "FOOLS."

BEFORE the Poor Law Act of 1845, the poor were relieved by the Kirk Session, out of a fund raised from church collections, private contributions, and fines paid by offenders against the moral law. This relief was, however, insufficient for their maintenance, and large numbers went about begging—certificates of poverty and licences to beg being, before the end of the 18th century, granted to the genuine and deserving poor by their ministers. For these beggars—many of whom came from other parishes—every farmer kept a corner and a blanket in his barn; and they got supper before going to bed, and breakfast in the morning. Some of them were "fools"—helpless lunatics, as a rule, who wandered miserably from house to house, and from parish to parish, until, at last, they lay down on some bleak moor, or in some lonely wood, to die of hunger or from exposure. Since the establishment of lunatic asylums, this sort have ceased to wander. The following were the most noted "fools" who frequented our Parish within the last hundred years:—

Joseph Day. A native of England, or the South of Scotland. Wandered during the closing years of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th. Committed some crime—said to have been murder—and vowed never to speak again, or to sleep under a roof. Would, therefore, never speak, except, unguardedly, when greatly frightened. Carried a blanket on his back, and always slept in the woods, winter and summer.

Ruaraidh Rasaidh. A native of Raasay, who flourished about eighty years ago [*i.e.*, before 1893]. Took his father's body out of the grave, and left it exposed to the elements. Was a trustworthy messenger, and used to carry messages between the Parish and Inverness and other places.

Christopher Maclennan, from Kintail. Had habit of returning to house in which he had rested, and enquiring, "*An d' fhag mi dad?*" "Have I left anything?" Boys used to send him back for miles by suggesting that he had left something in some house which he had entered.

An t-Amadan Ruiste—The Naked Fool. A native of the West Coast. Wandered about the same time as Joseph Day. Went mad in consequence of the death of a girl he was about to marry. Composed a touching song on her, which he used to sing as long as he lived. Had habit of tearing his clothes to pieces, and was sometimes found stark naked. In his old age was carried from place to place, sitting in a kind of chair, and covered with a blanket, which he continually tried to tear into shreds.

Dubh an Tomaidh. Imagined he was a piper, and went through the Parish carrying a branch like bagpipes, and imitating with his voice the sound of the pipes. Continually marched to the "music" which he thus produced—until he was unable, through fatigue, to proceed further. After resting for a time he hurried on again.

Tearlach nan Iteag—Charles of the Feathers. Had his bonnet and clothes stuck all over with feathers, like a Red Indian. Was a great dancer, and his great object in life was to attend weddings, and join in the festivities.

Ali Moon. Wandered between thirty and fifty years ago [before 1893]. An excellent singer. During the Crimean War imagined and related most extraordinary "news" from the scene of operations.

Hannah Barclay. A native of the South, who wandered about fifty years ago [before 1893]. Delicate and good-looking, and said to have been of gentle blood. Usually slept in the woods, and ate grass like Nebuchadnezzar of old.

Cailleach nam Muc. Went about between thirty and sixty years ago [before 1893], followed by a number of pigs. Slept with them, and said to have been at last eaten by them. A reputed witch, who bore the devil's mark on her forehead, which she carefully kept covered.

Uilleam an Dularaich. A native of Glen Convinth, who, for many years, went from parish to parish attending "Sacraments." Dressed in clergymen's clothes, and imagined himself a bit of a divine. Died about eight years ago [before 1893].

APPENDIX T (Page 464).

PAPERS CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF AN URQUHART HEIRESS IN 1737.

[Originals at Castle Grant, and printed in "Chiefs of Grant," Vol. II.]

I. Letter, John Grant of Dalrachnie, Chamberlain of Urquhart, and other Grants, to Ludovick Grant, Younger of Grant.

Bellmackaan, January 26th, 1737.

Honorable Sir,—Wishing you and noble ladie ane happie New-Year, we heartly pray the Almightie may longe preserve you both, and grant us off you great posteritie to inherite their ancestors' virtues and esteats, and to stand on the head of the Clan Grant while sun and moon endure. It afforded us no small pleasure, when you was last in this country, to hear you express publickly your willingness to embrace every faire oppertunity off planting Grants in this countrie, and turning out such as hade ther dependance on other chieffs and masters, whereof ther are too many both in Urquhart and Glenmoristone. One occasione of this nature has leatly cast up here, the which, was it embraced and did succeed, it would be a mean to anable one young pritty fellow of your name here turn out to be one of the most substantiall tennants in the countrie. Wherefor, we begg live to lay the caice before you, viz.:—Ther was a tennant widdow who laitly dyed very rich in this country, and bequeathed her whole wordly effects to her youngest daughter, haveing no maille childeren. Immediatly upon her demise, severall young lads appeared on ther amours with the girl, amonge whom ther were one or two Grants, and the rest forreigners to us and our name. One of the Grants pretended to have a promise of marriage of the girle, and sought our assistance to maintaine the same, which wee frankly complyed with, as wee hade much at heart,

if possible, to advance our freend and namesake in any just intrest mighte occurr, and particullarly to this gear, as it could all at once enable our freend to succeed the defunct in her tack and means, and so prove one of the most substantiall tennants to your honor and intrest in all the lordship of Urquhart. Wherfor, seeing you allwayes disstinguish yourself amonge the best of Highland chieffs in supporting all your name, wee have, with the greater frankness, countenanced our freend to prosecute his intentione in a lawfull and just manner. But in the meantime, to our surpryse, a comone fellow's sone, of what name we know not, only of late calls himself M'Donell, and who all his life was universalie knowen to act the villanous pairt in traffecting with stolne goods, and bringing severall blunders of that nature on this country, by which he made up all his substance, did, by cunning shifts or brybery, engage some of the lass' nearest freends, and by which means shee was carried off privatly, and made to sculck in such pairts as either our freend or us hade no access to her, except we hade gone to take her at the rightes, which we were sweer to doe till we first acquanted your honour how the matter stood. But in shorte, after all arguments used with him in a faire way, and particularly by the Chamberland, who told him that the Laird of Grant would be disspleas'd at his conduct in this and other things, immediately made it his business, in oppositione to our project, to make up a pairty, both without and within the country, whereby its propos'd, in despighte of all Grants, to have the girle married to his sone. But now, as wee have made a faire representatione of the caice to your honour, and that wee allwayes rely to be supported in any just or honorable undertakeing by our chieff and master, wee presume to expect, seeing wee are thus touched upon honour, that you will not only advyse what shall be done in this, but also be pleas'd to signifie your disspleasure at such as sett themselves up in oppositione to all your name this syde of Ness, when ther undertakeing is so faire and reasonable. And as wee have nothing so much at heart as to stand for your honour and intrest, either righte or wronge, if any such occasione did offer, we flatter ourselves that you'l not only show to the world your reguard to your freends, in contempt of ther enemies, but give us assurance to bannish the author of this indignitie offered to us from your lands and esteat, and give his and his son's possessione to some responsable namesake of our own; which, if you incline, will be very soon hade to your satisfactione. Wee begg, with the greatest submissione, your forgiveness for this tedious letter, and wee are, as becometh,

with the greatest esteem, honorable sir, your honour's most obedient and most obliedged humble servants,

Jo. Grant.

Alex. Grantt.	Alex. Grantt.
Patrick Grant.	Angus Grantt.
Robert Grant.	Robert Grant.
James Grantt.	Robert Grant.
Robert Grantt.	Patrick Grant.
	John Grant.

What touched us so verie much in this affair was this, that this Grant who had the girle under promise to marry him, how soon he was observed to come to the town where she was, this Donald Bain, of late M'Donald, with some others, advanced toward him, and some of them fell on and cast him down to the ground, and threatned to maletreat him, which would effectuallie have happened had not one M'Grigor, hearing the noise of their grapeling, came and rescued Grant from them. Jo. Grant.

II. Petition, Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston and other Grants, to the Same.

March 14th, 1737.

Unto the Honourable the Laird of Grant, younger. The humble address of the Laird of Glenmoriston and other gentlemen of the name of Grant, both in Urquhart and Glenmoriston, subscribing hereto.

Honourable Sir,—Give us leave to signify that your name in said two countries have not been thir several generations so perfectly unite among themselves, nor so absolutely determined to follow their chief in opposition to all mortals, as they have been of late and continue to be since you came first among them.

Not but that our predecessors alwise intertained the greatest esteem for their chief, in all ages, that was possible for any people to do. But, sir, their situation differed from ours, which made 'em at some occasions suppress the sincere sentiments of their minds, and conceal their natural affections; viz., their case was thus: Tho' Urquhart and Glenmoriston did belong to the Laird of Grant and to his friend Glenmoriston upward of two hundered years agoe, yet in both said countries there were not till of late but very few Grants, tho' there were of other names near to four hundered. Wherefore, in all times of trouble, the Laird of Grant being at a distance, while the multitude of other names ran to and flocked after their respective chiefs, the few Grants behoved, for the safety of their persons and interests, either to sit still or join with other neighbouring chiefs, who were upon the opposite side of the question with their own chief, and such of them as did otherwise were cruelly massacred themselves,

and their posterity robbed of their worldly effects, whereof there have been several instances since the Grants first possessed these countries. But, sir, the case is now otherwise (thanks to God) with your name in said countries; they have, and continue to multiply to that degree, that if their chief continue his countenance, favour, and protection, they shall be able to possess the most of said countries themselves, pay their dues, and without fear or awe of their neighbours, turn out after their own chief in whatever he has adoe, and cutt a figure under him. And it gave all of us great pleasure to hear your firm resolut'on, when last in this country, of embracing every fair opportunity of turning out strangers and preferring such of your own name as were capable to any possessions that from time to time came to be free of tacts; and this was the cause that made us meddle at all to have that rich girl we once before mentioned in our letter to you for some namesake of our own. But we are heartily sorry that our opposites have been at great pains to missrepresent our conduct in that matter, and run us down to you and others, and the more sorry that their reports seem to be believed of us, while meantime we made no step that was either mean, unfair, or unjust, as may bee seen by the inclosed information, which we intreat you may cause read before you, and examine the facts therein narrated; and we all begg as one man, that none of us be condemned unheard. Our characters and interests have been attacked already, and probably may much more, unless prevented, and both without any foundation. Wherefore, we apply to you (as our common parent), and we are, with the greatest submission and esteem, honourable sir, your most humble, most faithful, obliged, and obedient servants and followers,

Pat. Grantt of Glenmoriston.
Alex. Grantt of Shewglie.
Alex. Grantt of Corrimony.
Angus Grantt.
Robert Grant.
Duncan Grant.
P. G., elder of Craskie.
Robt. Grantt.
Patrick Grantt.
Allan Grantt in the Hills.
John Grant.
Æneas Grant of Deldregin.
Alex. Grant of Craskie, younger.
Patrick Grant.
Alex. Grantt.
Alex. Grantt in Bunloitt.
Ewen Grant.

To the Honourable the Laird of Grant.

III. Letter, Simon Lord Lovat to the Same.

Beaufort, 13th April, 1737.

My Dear Laird of Grant,—I am glad to hear from other persons, tho' I have no line under your own hand, that you keep your health, and that good Lady Margaret goes on very well in her pregnancy. I pray God she may bring you a boy that will make your family more illustrious than ever it was, and I beg leave to assure you and her of my most affectionate respects, and my Lady Lovat's, and your young cousins. I bless God they are all in good health, but I have labour'd under the ague these twenty days past, which the easterly winds brought upon me. I was forced to send for Dr Cuthbert, and take a vomit yesterday, which wrought very severely and fatigued me much, but I hope it will do me good. I was much surprised at the little notiçle you took of the unaturall and dangerous combination that was enter'd into in Urquhart against your person, your interest, and your family: for the famous contrivers of it bragg'd when they came out of Strathspey that you rather encouraged than chastised them for such an illegal and insolent association. I wrote something of it to you in the letter that I had the honour to send you by one of the soldiers of my company, but did not receive any answer since: and, truly, I must own that I was never so astonished as to find that you took no great concern about the most barbarous, villainous, horrid, and unprecedented crime that was committed in the Highlands in this age, in any country, or by any people: that is, the decoying one of your tennents from his own house, while he was at supper, by a little boy, and when he was conducted by the little boy in order to go to Dochfour's house, as the boy made him believe, as he pass'd the bridge that was upon the road, two or three ruffians, mask'd, jump'd upon him, bruised him, and beat him till within an inch of his life, and afterwards cutt off both his ears—a barbarity without example in this country, or in any country round it. I referr to your own serious and mature consideration, whither or not this insolent action does not strick at you and your character, as well as at your authority and jurisdiction. I am very certain that it is a manifest insult upon my person, both as to my office as Shirref and as to my commission as Captain of an Independent Company, that now takes care of this district, and has one of my posts in Urquhart. I do assure you that if it was not for the singular love and regard I have for your person and for your family, being resolved to be for ever addicted and attached to both, and that I would not meddle with anything that is

within your country, regality and jurisdiction, without acquainting yourself first, I would have seized both the gentlemen and common fellows that I had information against, and very strong presumptions that they were the contrivers and the actors of that barbarous crime against your poor tennent, against whom they had no reason of complaint but his marrying a country girl that had some money, and that she preferr'd him to one of their relations to whom they designed to marry her—a fine pretext for murder and barbarity. Those gentlemen came within an half-mile of my house the next day after this villainy was committed, in order to pay me a visit as they said. I sent them a message not to come to my house, and to tell them that if it was not for the particular regard I had for you, and that they were then in my own country, I would send them all prisoners to the Tolbooth of Inverness to undergo the law. It is not worth my while or yours to trouble you with an account of their misbehaviour that night. They went all drunk to your cousin Belladrum's house about 12 o'clock at night, and Belladrum being sick in bed, they insulted him and his lady and family, and gave unseeming names to this country and people, and of all mankind they should be the last to say unmannerly things of it, for they always met with a great deall of good hospitality and kindness in it, for they were still as welcome to every house in this country as they were at home in their own houses, which none of them can deny.

After all that I have said to you, my dear nephew, I humbly beg that you may let me know precisely what you are resolved to do to chastise the insolent persons that commited this horrid crime in defyance of the law, and in downright contempt of your authority and mine, for if by bad advice (for I must call it so whatever art or person it comes from) you neglect to punish the persons guilty of this horrid crime, you will not be angry at me to put all the laws in execution as far as I am able, both as shirref and as Captain of the Independent Company, against those wicked, insolent madmen that have insulted you as well as me. I have received this day a very strong letter from the Laird of Glengerry, desiring justice of me as shirref of the county, for the horrid usage that his namesake met with. He thinks he has got bad returns for his lenity to Glenmoristone's family, and I wish from my heart my poor cousin Allan may not suffer in revenge of this last action. I will write to Glengerry that I have acquainted you of the affair, and that I am very sure you will punish that horrid crime with all the rigour that the laws can allow, which I wish to God you may do upon many accounts.

I had a letter this day from your father, and by all the publick and private accounts that I have from London and Edinburgh, the poor remains of the liberty of Scotland are at the agony, for since Ewadward the First's days, who ruin'd our country by falshood and oppression, there was never such an affront done to Scotland as calling up the Judges of our Supream Court to appear at the English Bar for their misdemaunours; and the taking away by the arbitrary power of the House of Peers the essential priviledge of our metropolis, is giving us the finishing stroke. What the consequences will be, he is wiser than I that can tell; but he sits abun the lift that guides the gully.

I beg to know what time you think to be at Edinburgh; and believe that I am, whither in peace or war, and whither in a storm or in a calm, either in Church or State, with unalterable zeal and attachment, my dear nephew, your most affectionate uncle and most faithfull slave,

LOVAT.

[The "lugging" of the man (Archibald Macdonald) who married the heiress gave rise to a quarrel and duel between the Chamberlain and Baillie, younger of Dochfour, an amusing account of which was sent by Lovat to Ludovick on 15th December, 1737. (Chiefs of Grant II., 360).]

APPENDIX U

THE URQUHART SETTLEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA

IN the Olden Times the population of Urquhart and Glenmoriston was effectually kept down by war, and spoliation, and famine. When these came to an end after Culloden, the population rapidly increased,[1] and a congestion arose from which some of the more enterprising spirits sought relief by joining the army, or settling in other countries. The Urquhart men began to go abroad immediately after The Forty-Five, and from then till now they have been noted wanderers and colonists. "I have," said the late Mr Charles Grant of Hazel Brae, to the Author, "in my day travelled much. I have visited many remote parts of Asia and Africa, but I have never been in a place where I did not meet another Glen-Urquhart man. It is said that when the North Pole is discovered, a Scotsman will be found sitting on it. I verily believe that that Scotsman will be from Glen-Urquhart!" At present Urquhart men are scattered over North and South

[1] See p. 441, *supra*.

America, India, China, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand; and in Nova Scotia there has existed for more than a century a community which consists almost exclusively of natives of the Glen or their descendants—the Urquhart Settlement in the County of Pictou.

The man who first led the way from Glen-Urquhart to Nova Scotia was Patrick Mackay, brother of Alexander Mackay of Achmonie. Patrick, who served for a time in the army, and was tenant of Polmaily, was of an enterprising disposition,[1] and about the year 1770 he crossed the Atlantic with a few other Urquhart men, and settled in Pictou. He was there in 1778, when his wife, Elizabeth Fraser, was in Scotland. He himself subsequently returned to Scotland, where he died. His companions remained in the country, and were joined in 1776 and 1784 by other Urquhart people, who settled on the East River of Pictou, which is known in Gaelic as *An Abhainn Mhor*—the Great River. Among those new-comers were Finlay Macmillan, Peter Grant, Donald Cameron, Samuel Cameron, and John Macdonald, better known as Iain Mac Eoghainn Oig, whose great-grandfather escaped from the massacre of Glencoe and settled in Glen-Urquhart, and his sons, Duncan, Hugh, and James. James's grandson, the Hon. James Macdonald, was Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia. His great-grandson, J. A. Macdonald, LL.D., is [1913] managing editor of the *Toronto Globe*.

Between 1801 and 1803 the community was greatly increased by the arrival of further batches from the mother Glen, among whom were John Macmillan (grandfather of Dr Macmillan, now of Pictou), William Macmillan, James Urquhart, Alexander Macdonald, Donald Macdonald, Robert Mackintosh, Duncan Macdonald, Archibald Campbell, James Chisholm, John Grant, Angus Macfie, and John and Donald Macdonald, who settled at Kerrowgair, called after the old Kerrowgair in Glen-Urquhart. In 1818, and subsequent years, again, new settlers arrived from our Parish, including Alexander Ross, William Ross, William Macdonald, Gilbert Macdonald, Archibald Fraser, Roderick Macdougall, Donald Munro, William Macmillan, Alexander Chisholm, Roderick Macdougall, whose grandson, John Macdougall, has for years been member of Parliament for the county of Pictou; Donald Campbell and John Munro, who settled in a valley called Urquhart, through which the Moose River flows; and John

[1] Mr William Lorimer in his Report on Urquhart in 1763, says in reference to Patrick:—"A brother of Auchmony's, formerly in the Army, has begun liming, and should be encouraged. His mind has been enlarged by going abroad."

Macdougall, son of John Macdougall (Iain Mac Dhughaill), author of "Braigh Rusgaich" (see pp. 415 and 532). John Macdougall emigrated in 1828, and settled at Blue Mountain, where he died, greatly lamented, in 1873. On his tombstone are inscribed the Gaelic words:—"Air chuimhne gu bràth bithidh am fìrean. His son, Roderick Macdougall, J.P., now [1893] resides at Blue Mountain. Among the more recent recruits to the Urquhart Settlement were William Urquhart (who returned to Glen-Urquhart, and acquired the Lewistown Brewery), James Urquhart, Alexander Urquhart, Duncan Macmillan, William Macmillan, and Donald MacDonald, brother of William Somerled Macdonald (see p. 412). The Settlement now contains about seventy flourishing families, of Urquhart descent, who all speak Gaelic, and worship in that language in the churches of Blue Mountain (A' Bheinne Ghorm) and Springville (Bail' an Fhuarain). To the Rev. D. B. Blair, for many years minister of Blue Mountain, and the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, lately minister of Springville, and now of Belfast, Prince Edward Island, the Author is indebted for much of the information contained in this notice.

APPENDIX V

URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON PLACE-NAMES.

While the great bulk of the place-names of the Parish are Gaelic, and easy of explanation, there are some which it is difficult, if not impossible, to satisfactorily interpret. A few of these go back to the time of the sway of the Picts, and some of them at least are remains of the Pictish language, which prevailed in the district of which Urquhart and Glenmoriston forms a part before the introduction of Gaelic by the early Irish missionaries. (See p. 8 *supra*). The Teutonic element in our place-names is inconsiderable, and belongs, not to the Norse period, but to later times. Indeed, the Norse do not appear to have ever obtained a footing in the Parish. The Pictish language, as is now maintained by most Celtic scholars, notably Dr Whitley Stokes, belonged to the Brittonic branch of the Celtic, and was nearly allied to ancient Welsh, the main peculiarities of which it presents in the few remains that we have of it.

In names which are not represented by any significant or understood words in modern Gaelic or Welsh, we must resort to analysis of them into one or more roots, keeping in view the historical development of the Celtic languages within the last two thousand years.

What is the etymology of the words URQUHART and GLENMORISTON—in Gaelic, URCHUDAINN and GLEANNA-MOIREASDAINN? The old fanciful etymology of Urquhart—*Urchùdainn* (earthen tub, from the supposed tub-like form of the lower part of Glen-Urquhart), must be discarded. The name appears in Adamnan's Life of Columba (seventh century) as *Airchartdan*, whence an early Gaelic *Urchardan* naturally results, followed by the present *Urchadainn*, which appears in Blaeu's Atlas (seventeenth century) as *Wrchoden*. It is divisible into three parts—first, the prefix *air*, by, upon, which becomes *ur* before a consequent broad vowel (cf. *urchair*, for *air-cur*, "on-cast," a throw, a shot); second, the root *cartd*, or *card;* and, thirdly, the suffix *an*. We are justified, from its Gaelic pronunciation, to regard the root as *card*. In modern Welsh this would be *cardd*, and the language actually possesses this root, with its requisite suffix, in *cardden*, a brake, thicket. The name *Urquhart*, as originally pronounced, would thus mean in Welsh, "By the brake" or "Brake-side"—or, possibly wider in Pictish, "By the wood" or "Wood-side"—an apt enough description, probably, of the first settlement in a glen which is now well covered with timber, and which in former times was even more densely wooded. As to the original application of the name, see footnote 2, p. 340. In Wales *Argoed*, that is Ar-coed, "By the wood," or "Wood-side," is a common name. In connection with this interpretation of *Urchadainn* it may be helpful to keep in view the other Highland placenames containing *cardan*. There are three or four places called *Kincardine*. The Gaelic here is *Cinn-chardainn;* the accent is on the *card* (unlike *Urquhart*, which, as usual with prepositional compounds, has the accent on the first syllable), and hence the root is better preserved in Kincardine. The Gaelic *cinn*, which is the locative case of *ceann* (head), and is the correct form in place-names, has evidently in *Kincardine* replaced a Pictish *Penn*-cardan. *Urquhart*, as has been said, is written *Airchartdan* by Adamnan. In 1215 the Pope writes it *Urchard*, since which time it variously appears as *Hurchard*, *Wrquhart*, *Wrchoden*, *Urquhart*.

The name *Moriston*, Gaelic *Moireasdainn*, contained in *Glenmoriston*, does not yield its secret easily to the philologist. The river doubtless gives name to the Glen, and it is usual to explain *Moriston* as *Moir-easan*, "of great waterfalls," which is probably correct. The *st* in *Moriston* is perfectly explainable, for it arises from simple *s*. as in *st*ruth for sruth, a stream. The real difficulty is with the termination *an*, which is of comparatively late introduction as a mark of the plural.

Archibald Grant, the Glenmoriston bard, poetically describes the Glen in one of his songs as *Gleannan ùr nam mor eas*—"the verdant glen of great water-falls." In 1345 Moriston is written "Morchen," which would seem to show that the *t* had not then established itself. In 1478, however, Glenmoriston was written as it is to-day.

The names of the two divisions of the Parish having thus been discussed, other place-names will now be considered. They have received but indifferent consideration from those who are responsible for the Ordnance Survey of the Parish, by whom they have in many cases been badly handled and mutilated. It will be observed that the suffix *aidh* or *idh*, better *aigh*, enters largely into them. We may take it as equivalent to "place of." It is an old locative from a nominative *-ach;* compare Dornoch as against Dornie. The locative is similarly used in *Cataobh*, Sutherland; *Gallaobh*, Caithness: *beulaobh*, in front.

I. Rivers, Streams, &c.

Abhainn Choilltidh—River Coilty: the river of *Coilltidh*, which means "the place of woods," locative plural of *coille*.

Abhainn Dò—River Do, pronounced like English *doe*. Etymology unknown. Probably Pictish. Cf. English *dew*, root *dhav*.

Abhainn Eanairig—River Enerick. Etymology unknown. Probably Pictish. Compare river Enrick in Galloway, and river Endrick in Stirlingshire.

Abhainn Loinn—River Loyne. The word *Loinn* shows the locative case of *lann*, a glade, an open place; or it may be *loinn*, sheen, glitter.

Abhainn Mhoireasdainn—River Moriston. Already discussed. See above.

Allt a' Bhodaich—The Burn or Stream of the Old Man, or Goblin.

Allt a' Chlacharain—Water Ousel Burn.

Allt Dhìbheach—Divach Burn, noted for its fall. No conjecture can be offered as to meaning. See *Eas-an-Fhithich*.

Allt an Dùnain—The Burn of the little Dùn, or hillock, or fort. Famous for its Hag (see p. 424).

Allt Gille Phadruig Gobha—Gille Phadruig Gobha's Burn (see p. 103).

Allt a' Phuill—The Burn of the Pool—that is, of *Polmaily*, which see.

Allt an Tairbh—The Burn of the Bull—Bullburn.

Allt Eiric—The Stream of *eiric*, or compensation.
Allt nan Eoin—The Stream of the Birds.
Allt na Fiacail—The Stream of the Tooth.
Allt an Fhithich—The Raven's Stream.
Allt nan Gadaich—The Thieves' Stream.
Allt na Muic—The Pig's Stream—an echo, perhaps of the time when the wild boar was found in Glenmoriston, where we find *Sròn Muic* (the Pig's Point), and *Creag an Tuirc* (the Boar's Rock).
Allt Giubhais—The Stream of the Fir. The scene of Allan of Lundie's leap (see p. 130).
Allt Iarairidh—The Stream of the Western Shieling. See *Iarairidh*.
Allt Mor—The Great Burn, Bunloit. At one time called *Uaileig*. See *Inbher-Uaileig*.
Allt Mullach—The High Burn; or *Allt Mollach*, the Rough Burn.
Allt Ruadh—The Red Burn.
Allt Saidh—*Saidh*, pronounced like English *sigh*. *Saidh*, bitch. Burn of the Bitch—here probably she-wolf.
Allt Stiortaig—Probably the Burn of much sound.
Cam-allt—The Winding Burn.
Eas-an-Fhithich—The Raven's Fall—Falls of Dìvach.

II. Lochs, &c.

Loch Asalaich—The Loch of Supplication.
Loch a' Bhainne—The Loch of Milk.
Loch a' Bheallaich—The Loch of the Defile or Pass.
Loch na Ba Ruaidhe—The Loch of the Red Cow.
Loch nam Bàt—The Loch of the Sticks, or Cudgels.
Loch na Beinne Bàna—The Loch of the White Ben or Mountain.
Loch nam Breac Dearg—The Loch of the Red Trout.
Loch nan Cat—The Loch of the (wild) Cats.
Loch a' Chàise—The Loch of Cheese.
Loch a' Chràthaich—The Loch of the *Crathach*, which see.
Lochan a' Chrois—The Loch of the Cross. See footnote, p. 460.
Loch Cluainidh—The Loch of *Cluainidh*, which see.
Loch na Crìche—The Loch of the March, or Boundary.
Loch na Cuilce—The Loch of Bullrushes, or Canes.
Loch an Dubhair—The Loch of the Shade.
Loch nan Eun—The Loch of Birds.

Loch nam Faoileag—The Loch of Gulls. There are several lochs of this name in the Parish.
Loch na Feannaig—The Loch of the Hooded Crow.
Loch nan Gobhar—The Loch of the Goats.
Loch Gorm—The Blue Loch.
Loch Loinn—Loch Loyne. See under *Abhainn Loinn*.
Loch Lunndaidh—The Loch of *Lunndaidh*, which see.
Loch Ma Stac—Obscure, but probably *Loch mo Stac*—the Loch of my Peak or Precipice.
Loch a' Mheig—The Loch of Whey.
Loch nam Meur—The Loch of Branches or Arms. There are two of the name in the Parish, both of which are "branched" or irregular in form.
Loch Mhiachdlaidh—Loch Meiklie: the Loch of *Miachdlaidh*, which see.
Loch Nis—Loch Ness. For the legendary origin see pp. 5-7. The word is in Gaelic pronounced "Nĕcsh," not Ness. Adamnan wrote it *Nisa*, or *Nesa;* and in the 12th century, and down to the 16th, the usual spelling is *Nis* or *Nys*. The word is not derived from the Fall of Foyers—*an-Eas* (pronounced "ess")—as has been imagined. Keeping in view what was said at the beginning of this Appendix as to analysis, Adamnan's *Nisa* or *Nesa* must, according to Celtic phonetics, stand for an original *Nesta* (Nestis?). The *st*, again, has to be analysed into either *ts* or *ds*. Thus we get the root *net*, or *ned*, the latter of which suits our case, for it appears in the Sanskrit *nadi*, a river. There was a Greek Neda; Nestos or Nessus was the river bounding Macedonia on the east; and Nessonis was a lake of Thessaly. The German word allied is *netzen*, to wet. One is tempted to think of the mythic Ness, mother of Conchobar or Conachar Mac Nessa, who is associated with Loch Ness in one of the old hero-tales (see p. 5). She seems to have been a river-goddess, for she gave birth to Conchobar under extraordinary circumstances by the river Conchobar ("High-foam," Foaming), whence he derived his name. The worship of rivers, as we know from Gildas, and from river-names such as Dee (goddess), and Don (Diana), was prevalent among the Celts. Loch Ness is called after the river Ness, as is always the case with loch and river; but Adamnan insists on it—*Nisæ fluminis lacum*—the lake of the river Ness.
Loch nan Oighrean—The Loch of Cloudberries.
Loch an t-Sionnaich—The Loch of the Fox.
Loch an Tart—The Loch of the Drought.

Mountains, Hills, &c.

(The figures indicate height, in feet).

A' Bheinn Bhàn—The White Ben or Mountain.
A' Bheinn Bhreac—The Speckled Mountain.
A' Bheinn Liath—The Grey Mountain.
A' Bheinn Shleamhainn—The Slippery Mountain.
An Cragan Daraich—The Oak Rock. Gave his name to Iain a' Chragain. See p. 206.
An Cragan Soillear—The Bright or glistening Rock.
An Cràthach—The marshy, wild, ugly place. The scene of Cailleach a' Chràthaich's exploits. See p. 422.
A' Chreag Ard—The High Rock.
A' Chreag Mhor—The Great Rock.
A' Chreag Dhearg—The Red Rock.
An Cruachan (1503)—Diminutive of *Cruach*, a high hill.
An Suidhe—The Seat. See footnote, p. 336.
Ard an t-Suaimhneis—The Height of Repose.
An Torran Daraich—The Oak Knoll.
Beinn nan Eoin—The Mountain of the Birds.
Carn a' Ghluasaid (3115)—*Carn*, a cairn, or heap, meaning here a mountain-mass; *Gluasad*, motion, moving; *Carn a' Ghluasaid*, the moving carn, or the carn of the removal.
Carn na Fiacail—The Carn of the Tooth.
Carn na h-Iolaire—The Eagle's Carn.
Carn Mhic-an-Toisich (2221)—Mackintosh's Carn.
Carn Tarsuin—The Cross Carn, or carn running across. There are two in the Parish—one crossing from Glen-Urquhart in the direction of Glenmoriston, and another from Glenmoriston to Abertarff.
Carn nan Caorach—The Carn of the Sheep.
Carn nam Mart—The Carn of the Cattle.
Carn a' Mhadaidh Ruaidh—The Fox's Carn.
Carn nan Earb—The Carn of the Roe-deer.
Cnoc na h-Iolaire—The Eagle's Hill, or Height.
Cnoc a' Bhuachaille—The Herdsman's Hill.
Cnoc a' Chaisteil—The Castle Hill; site of old hill-fort at Corrimony.
Cnoc an t-Sabhail—The Barn Hill. There are two in Glen-Urquhart—one immediately behind Balmacaan House, and the other now called Hazel Brae.
Cragan an Teine—The Rock of the Fire.
Creag Achamhonaidh—The Rock of Achmonie. Which see.
Creag an Airgid—The Rock of Silver.

Creag a' Choit—The Rock of the Boat. See p. 131.
Creag nan Eun—The Rock of the Birds.
Creag an Fhithich—The Raven's Rock.
Creag Giubhais—The Fir-bearing Rock. See p. 130.
Creag a' Mhadaidh—The Rock of the Dog—perhaps of the Fox (*Madadh-ruadh*), or the Wolf (*Madadh-alluidh*), or the Otter (*Madadh-donn*).
Creag an Tuirc—The Rock of the (wild) Boar.
Creag Mhiachdlaidh—The Rock of Meiklie. See under *Miachdlaidh*.
Creag Mhònaidh—Craigmonie—Monie's Rock. See p. 10.
Creag Néidh—Craig Nay. Probably *Creag Neimhidh*, the Rock of the Church-land (St Ninian's).
Cruachan Lunndaidh — The Hill of Lundie. See *An Cruachan*, and *Lunndaidh*.
Dun Screabainn—Dun Screpin—Hill Fort at Grotaig. Gaelic *screab*, means "a blotch;" but *screabainn* is obscure, and is probably Pictish.
Glas Bheinn—The Grey Mountain; in Glenmoriston.
Leac a' Bhainne—*Leac*, a slope or declivity; *bainne*, milk. The Milky Slope.
Leac nam Buidheag—*Leac*, slope; *buidheag*, daisy. The Slope of Daisies.
Leac nan Oighrean—The Slope of Cloud-berries.
Mac a' Mhill—Son of the *Meall*—that is, Mealfuarvonie. See *Meall na Fuar Mhonaidh*, and *Nighean a' Mhill*.
Meall na Criche (2224)—*Meall*, a lump, applied to a round mountain or large hill. *Criche*, of the march. The *Meall* of the March (between Glenmoriston and Corrimony).
Meall Daileig—The *Meall* of the Little Dale.
Meall nan Eilid—The *Meall* of the Hinds.
Meall na Fuar Mhonaidh (2283)—Mealfuarvonie. The *Meall* of the Cold Moor. Near it are *Mac a' Mhill*, and *Nighean a' Mhill*, which see.
Meall nan Oighrean—The *Meall* of the Cloud-berries.
Nighean a' Mhill—Mealfuarvonie's Daughter. See under *Mac a' Mhill*.
Sgùrr nan Conbhairean (2635)—The Peak of the Dog-men, or Hunters. The *Sgùrr* forms the march between the Parish and the parishes of Kintail and Kilmorack. A tradition tells that Glenmoriston was at one time the hunting ground of the *Feinne*, or Fingalians, who used to meet in the morning at *Sgùrr nan Conbhairean* in the far west, and close the day at Ach' nan Conbhairean

(the Hunters' Field) above Invermoriston—having followed the dogs for a distance, as the crow flies, of about twenty miles. A wood on the south side of Glenmoriston is called *Coille na Feinne*—the Wood of the *Feinne*. In the immediate vicinity of Sgùrr nan Conbhairean is a hill called *Tigh Mor na Seilge*—the Great House of the Hunting. These names may have originated when the lands of Cluanie, within which they are, were a royal forest. See p. 448.

Sròn Dubh Dhìbheach—The Black Point of Divach.

Sròn Muic—The Pig's Point.

Suidh Ghuirmein—Gorman's Seat. See p. 336.

Suidh Mheircheird—Merchard's Seat. See p. 323, and footnote, p. 336.

Tom an t-Sabhail—The Barn Knoll. The first residence of the Grants of Glenmoriston. See p. 124.

Tòrr na Sìdhe—*Tòrr*, a conical hill; *Sìdhe*, of the Fairies. The Hill of the Fairies. The *Tòrr* gives name to the farm of Tornashee, and to *Muileann an Tùir*—Mill of Tore. The *Tòrr* has remains of ancient fortifications.

Torran nan Gillean—The Young Men's Knoll. The scene of the slaughter of the Gow Mor's sons. See p. 102.

IV. Glens and Corries.

An Gleann Fada—Glen Fada: the Long Glen.

Gleanna Coilltidh—Glen Coilty. See under *Abhainn Choilltidh*.

Gleann Loinn—Glen Loyne. See under *Abhainn Loinn*.

Gleanna Moireasdainn—Glenmoriston. Already discussed. See p. 573.

Gleann Urchadainn—Glen-Urquhart. Urquhart discussed above, p. 573.

An Garbh Choire—The Rough Corrie.

An Coire Beag—The Little Corrie.

An Coire Mor—The Large Corrie.

An Coire Buidhe—Corribuy: the Yellow Corrie. The Scene of the Fight of Corribuy. See p. 222.

An Coire Liath—The Grey Corrie.

An Coire Riabhach—The Brindled Corrie.

An Coire Giubhais—The Fir-bearing Corrie.

Coire Bodach nan Gobhar—The Corrie of the Old Man of the Goats.

Coire Dhò—The Corrie of the (river) Dò, which see.

Coire Dhomhnuill Bhain—Fair Donald's Corrie.

Coire Mheadhain—The Mid Corrie.
Coire Mhònaidh—Corrimony: Monie's Corrie. See p. 10.
Coire nam Brach—The Corrie of the Maltings.
Coire nan Laogh—The Corrie of the Calves.
Coire na h-Eig—The Corrie of Death.
Coire an Lochan Uaine—The Corrie of the Green Lakelet.
Coire Sgrainge—The Corrie of Gloom.

V. Townships, Farms, Pasturages, &c.

Acha' Dibheach—*Achadh*, a field, a plain, a meadow—the Field of Divach. See "Divach."
Achlain: Acha' Leathann—The Broad Field. In 1509 written "Auchlayn."
Achtuie: Acha' Dubhaidh—*Achadh*, a field; *dubh*, black; *aidh*, place or places. The Field of the Black (heathery?) Places.
Achmonie: Ach' a' Mhonaidh—The Field of the Moor. In 1334 written *Auchmunic;* in 1451, *Auchmony;* in 1554, *Awchmonye.*
Achnababane. Ach' na Bà Bàine—The Field of the White Cow.
Achnaconeran: Ach' nan Conbhairean—See under *Sgùrr nan Conbhairean.*
Achnahannet: Ach' na h-Anoid—The Field of the Church. See p. 336.
Achstruy: Acha' Sruthaidh—*Sruth-aidh*, the Place of Streams, the Field of the Place of Streams.
Achintemarack: Ach' an t-Seamàrag—Shamrock Field. In 1509 written *Auchintamarag.*
Ach' an t-Seagail—Rye Field.
Allanfearn: An t-Ailean Fearn—*Ailean*, a meadow, and *fearn*, the alder tree. The Meadow of Alders.
Allanmore: An t-Ailean Mor—The Large Meadow.
Am Bard—The Meadow (at Kilmore).
An Gaineamh Ban—The White Sandy Beach (Loch Ness beach on farm of Borlum).
An Cul Srathan—The Back Little Strath.
An Duibh Leathad—*Dubh*, black, and *leathad*, the broad hill-side. The Black Broad Hill-side.
An Garbh Leitir—*Garbh*, rough; *leitir*, a wet hill-side. The The Rough Wet Hill-side.
Aonach—High Bleak Place; or, probably here, the Fair, or Market, or Place of Gathering. The site of the old inn, visited by Johnson. See p. 457.

Ardachie: Ard-Achaidh—The High Field.
Badcaul: Am Bada Call'—The Hazel Clump.
Balbeg: Am Baile Beag—*Baile*, a town or township or stead, and *beag*, little. The Little Township.
Baemore: Am Beithe Mor—The Large Birch Wood.
Balchraggan: Bail' a' Chragain—The Town of the Rock.
Balintombuy: Bail' an Tom Buidhe—The Town of the Yellow Knoll.
Bail'-an-Duin: The Town of the *Dun*—Dun-Screabainn, in Bunloit.
Bail' an t-Srathain—The Town of the Little Strath (the east end of Lewistown).
Ballintrom: Bail' an Droma—*Druim*, a ridge. The Town of the Ridge.
Balmacaan—Pronounced Balla mac A-han. In 1509 written *Ballymakauchane*, *i.e.*, Baile Mac Eachainn, the Town of the Son of Hector. See footnote, p. 65. But the name is *Baile Mac Cathain*, Mac Cathan's Stead.
Balnaban: Baile nam Ban—The Town of the Women.
Balnacarn: Baile nan Carn—The Town of the Cairns (of stone).
Balnacraig: Baile na Craige—The Town of the Craig (Craig Nay).
Balnafettack: Baile na Feadaig—The Town of the Plover.
Balnaglaic: Baile na Glaic—The Town of the Hollow.
Balnagrantach: Baile nan Granntach—The Town of the Grants. Grantown.
Balnalick: Baile na Lic—*Leac*, a flat stone, a declivity. The Town of the Flat Stone, or of the Declivity.
Balnalurgin: Baile na Lurgainn—The Town of the Long Low Ridge.
Balnain: Bail' an Athainn—The Town of the Ford.
Bard nan Each—The Meadow of the Horses (on farm of Braefield).
Blairbeg: Am Blàr Beag—The Little *blair*, or Plain.
Blairie: Blàr-aidh—The Place of Small Plains. In 1345 written Blare; in 1509, Blaree.
Bearnock: Beàrnaig—*Bearn*, a gap, or pass. The Small Gap or Pass.
Blàr an Aonaich—The Plain of the High Bleak Place; or of the Market Plain. See Aonach.
Blàr na Geilt—The Plain or Field of Terror. See footnote, p. 10.
Blàr na Maigh—See Lewistown.

Borlum: Am Borlum—Corruption of Bordland, a name evidently given by the old Southron keepers of Urquhart Castle to the farm of old attached to the Castle. In 1509 written "Bordlande of Urquhart." "Bordlands signifies the desmenes which lords keep in their hands for the maintenance of their board or table." (Cowell's Law Dictionary).

Boglashin: Both Ghlas-bheinn—*Both*, a hut (Joyce's "Irish Names of Places"): *Glas*, grey; and *beinn*, a mountain. The Hut (shieling) of the Grey Rock or Mountain; probably the old name of the rock at the foot of which the township lies.

Braefield—Bad translation of Baile na Bruthaich, the Town of the Brae.

Breakachie: Am Breac Achaidh—The Speckled Field.

Breakrie: Am Breac Airidh—The Speckled Shieling.

Bunloyne: Bun Loinn—*Bun*, the lower part. The lower part or mouth of the (River) Loyne.

Bunloit: Bun Leothaid—*Bun*, lower part, and *leathad*, broad hill-side. The Lower Part of the Broad Hill-side. In 1509 written "Bunloade."

Carnach—The Place of Stones. The site of the Stone Circle of Corrimony.

Carrachan—The Place of Stone Circles. The west end of Wester Milton, where there were several stone circles.

Cartaly: Car Dàlaidh—Daly's Circle. See p. 5. In 1334 written Cartaly. In 1509, Gartale.

Ceannacroc: Ceanna Chnoc—The End Hillock.

Cluanie: Cluain-idh—*Cluain*, a green, meadowy, pasture-land. The Place of Green Pasture-lands. In 1509 written Cluny.

Clunebeg: A' Chluain Bheag—The Little, green, meadowy Pasture-land.

Clunemore: A' Chluain Mhor—The Large, green, meadowy Pasture-land. In 1509 written Mekle Clune.

Coille Chorcaidh—*Coille*, a wood; *corc-aidh*, the place of oats. The Wood of the Place of Oats. Compare with Seagal-aidh (Shewglie), the Place of Rye.

Coinneachan—The Mossy Place.

Corrish: An Coiris—Evidently a derivative of *Coire*, a corrie.

Craskaig—*Crasg*, a pass or crossing. The Little Pass. The Gaelic name of Lakefield, now Kilmartin.

Craskie—*Crasg*, a pass or crossing. The Little Pass, or the Place of Passes.

Croit Adamnan—Adamnan's Croft. See p. 335.

Croit Mo Chrostain—St Drostan's Croft. See p. 326.
Croit na Crìche—March Field.
Culanloan: Cul an Loin—The Back-land of the Meadow.
Culnakirk: Cul na Circ—Literally, the Back-land of the Hen. A rock at Culnakirk is called *Cragain na Circ*, the Rock of the (grouse) Hen.
Dalgrigack: Dail Griogaig—The Pebbly Dale or Field.
Dalmonie, at Corrimonie: Dail Mhònaidh—Monie's Field. See p. 10.
Dalmore: An Dail Mhor—The Large Field.
Dalriach: An Dail Riabhach. The Brindled Field.
Divach—In 1509 written Deveauch. See *Allt Dhibheach*.
Druim a' Bhile—*Druim*, a ridge; *bile*, an edge, applied to the sea-margin or terrace between Pitkerrald and the public road between Drumnadrochit and Blairbeg. The Ridge of the Terrace.
Drumbuie: An Druim Buidhe—The Yellow Ridge. In 1344 written Drumboy.
Drumclune: Druim a' Chluain—The Ridge of the green, meadowy, Pasture-land.
Drumcore: Druim na Còrr—The Ridge of the Crane (bird).
Druim na Cuirt—The Ridge of the Court.
Druim a' Chruithneachd—The Ridge of the Wheat.
Drumnadrochit: Druim na Drochaid—The Ridge of the Bridge. First on record in 1730.
Dulchreichard—The first syllable here, and in Duldreggan and Dulshangie, is *Dul* (pronounced *dŏŏl* in Gaelic), and not *Dun*, or *Dal*, or *Del*, as now sometimes erroneously written. All these *duls* are flats or meads by the side of a river. The word is usually regarded as a corrupt form of the Gaelic *dail*, itself borrowed from the Norse *dalr*, a dale. It appears, however, to be of Pictish origin—the same as *dol*, which the Brittonic languages all have for meadow, a low fertile spot, a dale. A writer on Welsh place-names says:—"The word (dol) is found in names of places situate in valleys all over Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany." He might have added the valleys of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. In Perthshire, also, the word appears in its naked simplicity as Dull. The meaning of Creichard is unknown. The word is probably Pictish. In 1509 Dulchreichard is written Tullclechart.
Duldreggan—The *Dul*, or Meadow, of the Dragon. See under *Dulchreichard*. In 1509 Duldreggan is written Duldragin, and the *dul*—one of the few Pictish words we possess—regularly appears in documents until the 18th

century, when, unfortunately, from an etymological point of view, it began to give place to *Dal*, *Del*, and, more recently, *Dun*.

Dulshangie—For the first syllable, see under *Dulchreichard* and *Duldreggan*. In 1345 written Dulschangy, and the *Dul* continues until the 18th century, when, in writings, it began to give place to *Dal* and *Del*. *Shangie* cannot be explained, and, like the other *Duls*, is probably Pictish.

Eskard: An t-Eascard—In Ireland *Eiscir*, meaning a sandy ridge, enters largely into place-names (Joyce). Eskard, which is a gravelly ridge, is probably the same word.

Garabeg: An Garadh Beag—The Little Enclosure.

Gortan Eachainn—*Gortan*, diminutive of *gort*, a garden, a small field. *Eachann*, Hector. Hector's Garden. See footnote, p. 65.

Grotaig, from *grod*, rotten, a locative feminine, signifying the Rotten Place!

Iarairidh—*Iar*, west, western; *airidh*, shieling. The Western Shieling. Gives name to Allt Iarairidh (which see); Blar Iarairidh, the Plain of Iarairidh; Coir Iarairidh, the Corrie of Iarairidh; and Eas Iarairidh, the Fall of Iarairidh.

Inchbrine: Innis a' Bhraoin—*Innis*, a sheltered grazing, a meadow. *Braon*, rain, a drizzle. The Drizzly Meadow. In 1345 written Inchebrene; in 1509, in the plural, Inchbrunys. There were Easter and Wester.

Inchtellich: An t-Innis t-Seileich—The Meadow of Willows.

Inchvalgar: Innis a' Bhalgair—The Meadow of the Fox.

Invercaochan: Inbhir a' Chaochain—*Inbhir*, mouth of a river or stream; *caochan*, a streamlet. The Mouth of the Streamlet. The site of the old inn at Ruiskich.

Invermoriston: Inbhir Mhoireastainn—The Mouth of the Moriston. In 1345 written Invermorchen.

Inveruaileig—The Mouth of the Uaileig, the ancient name of the Allt Mor of Bunloit.

Inverwick (pronounced Inner-vuichd): Inbhir Bhuic—The Mouth of the Buic (stream). May be *buic*, "of the buck"—the Mouth of the Buck's Stream. In 1509 written Innerwik; in 1679, Innervuick.

Kerrowdown: An Ceathramh Donn—*Ceathramh*, a quarter (quarter davach); *donn*, brown. The Brown Quarter-Davach. For *davach*, see p. 440.

Kerrowgair: An Ceathramh Geàrr—The Short Quarter-Davach. In 1509 written Karowgar.

Kilmartin—Name given in 1884 to Lakefield (of old called Meiklies, and Craskaig) by Mr Campbell, the late proprietor, after his family's old estate in Argyllshire.

Kilmichael: Cill Mhìcheil. The Cell of the Archangel Michael. See pp. 116 and 337. In 1554 written Killmichaell. See Appendix C.

Kilmore: A' Chille Mhor—The Great Cell. The Parish Church. See pp. 337 and 341. In 1693 written Kyllemoir. From the church, the Parish of Urquhart and Glenmoriston was sometimes called the Parish of Kilmore. The name has no connection with the Virgin Mary (Moire), as Shaw, the historian of Moray, supposed.

Kil St Ninian—St Ninian's Cell. See p. 336. In 1509 written Kill Sanct Ninian; in 1553, Kylsanctrinaine. Now, in Gaelic, Cill an Trinnein, and the district, Slios an Trinnein. See footnote, p. 321.

Lag a' Bhile, at Drumnadrochit—*Lag*, a hollow; *Bile*, a terrace. The Hollow of the Terrace. See *Druim a' Bhile*.

Lag a' Mhurtair—*Lag*, a hollow: *murtair*, a murderer. The Murderer's Hollow.

Lag an Trotain—The Hollow of the Trotting.

Lag an t-Seapail—The Hollow of the Chapel. See p. 336.

Lag nan Cuspairean—The Hollow of the Archers. See footnote, p. 10.

Lagganbane: An Lagan Bàn—*Lagan*, a small hollow; *ban*, white. The White Small Hollow.

Lakefield—English name given in end of eighteenth century to the lands of Meiklie and Craskaig.

Leac a' Bhainne—The Declivity of the Milk. A shieling in Glen Coilty.

Lenie—*Lean*, or *Leana*, a wet or swampy meadow. *Leanaidh*, the Place of Wet Meadows.

Lewistown—English name given to village founded by Sir James Grant at *Blar na Maigh* (the Plain of the Plain). See *Moy*, and p. 443.

Livishie: Lìbheisidh—Probably from *lighe*, flood, fulness or overflowing of a stream—the place of overflowing of water. The final *ishie* is the locative of *innis*, a haugh.

Loanmore: An Lon Mhor—*Lon*, a meadow. The Great Meadow.

Lon na Fala—The Meadow of Blood. The scene of the fight between Allan of Lundie and the Mackenzies. See p. 130.

Lochletter: Lòch-leitir—*Lòch*, an old adjective signifying "dark," as in Lòchaidh, the river *Lochy; leitir*, a wet hill-side. The dark Wet Hill-side. Lochletter is notably dark—"behind the sun."

Lossit (on the farm of Borlum): An Losaid—"*Losaid*, or in an Anglicised form, losset, is the Irish word for a kneading-trough. . . . The word is applied to a well-tilled and productive field, or to good rich land. A farmer will call such a field a *losset*, because he sees it covered with rich produce, like a kneading-trough with dough. . . . In the form of Losset it is the name of a dozen townlands in various counties from Donegal to Tipperary." (Joyce's "Irish Names of Places").

Lundie: Lunndaidh—There is a Lundie in Glenmoriston (the Lunndadh nam bo, Lundie of the cows, of the Bard—see p. 531), and a Torran Lunndaidh, in Brae Ruiskich. There is also Lundie in Glengarry, Lundy parish in Forfar, Dundie Loch and Hill in Sutherland, and Lundin in Fife. A Pictish word, probably; cf. London.

Lurga nam Broc—*Lurga*, or *Lurgan*, a long low ridge; *broc*, a badger. The Badger's Ridge.

Lurga Raineich—The Brackeny Ridge.

Meiklie: Miachdlaidh—(See Kilmartin, and Lakefield). In 1509 called "the four Meiklies." Meaning unknown. Probably Pictish.

Millness: Muileann an Eas—The Mill of the Waterfall.

Milton: Bail' a' Mhuilinn—The Town of the Mill.

Moy: A' Mhaigh—The Plain. Moy lies behind Lewistown, which in Gaelic is called *Blar na Maigh*, the Plain of Moy, or, literally, the Plain of the Plain.

Mill of Tore: Muileann an Tùir—Called after *Tòrr na Sidhe*, which see.

Pitkerrald—In 1509 written Petcarill; in 1660, Petkerrel. There were three Pitkerralds—Pitkerrald Chapel, belonging to the Church; Pitkerrald Croy: and Pitkerrald Mor, now Allanmore. *Pet* or *Pit*, a Pictish word, which appears in the Book of Deer (11th century), for farm, or township. Pit Chaoraill (now, in Gaelic, called *Dail Chaoraill*)—St Cyril's Township. See p. 336.

Poll a' Ghaorr—The Pool of Gore. See footnote, p. 10.

Polmaily: Polla Mhàilidh—Màlie's Pool. Malie, the name of a saint. Compare Kilmalie in Lochaber.

Raddich: An Rădaich—The portion of Borlum touching Loch Ness. Traditional interpretation, *Rathad-Eich*, the Horse Road, leading from the old ford near the mouth of the river Eneric to the Castle.

Rue: An Rudha—The Promontory.
Ruigh 'Bhainne—*Ruigh*, a reach or gentle slope; *bainne*, milk. The Slope of the Milk—the Milky Reach or Slope.
Ruigh 'Bhathaich—The Slope of the Byre, or Cow-house.
Ruigh Chragain—The Slope of the Rock.
Ruigh Gorm—The Green (literally, Blue) Slope.
Ruigh 'Ic 'Ille Mhoire—The Slope of the Servant of (the Virgin) Mary—Anglicised, Morrison.
Ruigh Laurais—Laurence's Slope—See p. 72.
Ruiskich: Rùsgaich—*Rùsg*, a marsh. The Fenny or Marshy Place. A name common in Ireland (Joyce). Also known in Perthshire.
Scorguie: Sgòr Gaoithe—The Windy Skerry.
Shanval: Seann Bhaile—Old Town.
Shewglie: Seagalaidh—*Seagal*, rye. The Place of Rye.
Srathan Allt na Fiacail—The Little Strath of *Allt na Fiacail*, which see.
Strathan a' Bhranndair—The Little Strath of the Brander, or Grating. A field at Wester Milton divided into long, narrow allotments. So called from the brander across the mill lade where it leaves the river.
Strathan-nan-Cno—The Little Strath of the Nuts.
St Ninians—See Kil St Ninian.
Strone: in Gaelic, *Sròn a' Chaisteil*—The Point or Promontory of the Castle.
Tigh an Leothaid—The House of (on) the *Leathad*, or Broad Hill-side.
Tigh an Teampuill—Temple House. (See p. 336). The "House" was the residence of the cleric who officiated in the Temple, or St Ninian's Chapel.
Tobar Mhàrstaig—Marstaig's Well.
Tobar Ruigeard—Ruigard's (Richard?) Well.
Torgoil: Torr a' Ghoill—The Knoll of the Stranger, or Lowlander.
Tornashee—See *Torr na Sìdhe*, under Mountains, &c.
Tornabrack: Torr nam Brachd—Probably Torr nam Breach. *Breach*, Irish for wolf (Joyce). The Tor of the Wolves.
Tullich: An Tullaich—The Hillock.
Tychat: Tigh a' Chait—The Cat's House.
Tynaherrick: Tigh na h-Adhraic—The House of the Horn.
Uppertown—Translation of Am Bail' Uachdrach—The Upper Town.

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